

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

LANE

MEDICAL 

LIBRARY

LEVI COOPER LANE FUND



PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA







Obverse.



Reverse.

Medal issued by the American Numismatic and Archæological Society to commemorate the Twenty-fifth National Conference of Charities and Correction.



INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

OF THE

DEPENDENT, DEFECTIVE, AND DELINQUENT CLASSES

And of their Social Treatment

BY

CHARLES RICHMOND HENDERSON

PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED AND REWRITTEN



BOSTON, U.S.A.

D. C. HEATH & CO., PUBLISHERS

1901

COPYRIGHT, 1900 AND 1901

By CHARLES R. HENDERSON.



-626
149
1901

PREFACE.

THIS book is an elementary introduction to the systematic study of the nature, condition, and social relations of dependents, defectives, and delinquents. The theoretical discussion describes, defines, and explains the facts in a certain group of phenomena in associated life. Its purpose is to promote an understanding of the reality under consideration, and its goal is knowledge. The later parts of the treatise are chiefly practical. They deal with social conduct, with institutions and organizations for betterment, alleviation, and correction. We seek the ethical basis of charity, the ideals of philanthropy, and the social mechanism for attaining in larger measure what ought to be. Social institutions are described; their adaptation to ends is judged and valued; better methods are proposed according to the teachings of experience.

In the text the aim has been to state the essential factors, laws, tendencies, forces, or methods. Statistical data are used very sparingly. In the appendix will be found some brief summaries of measurements believed to be reliable within the limits defined, and full references to the sources and authorities. Where recommendations of practical measures are made, the purpose has been to give both reasons and authorities.

There is a common saying among practical workers that "there are no two cases alike; each must be treated on its own merits." This maxim contains a very important truth, but it may be used in a very dangerous and misleading way. In the living objects of nature and among the members of the human race there is, indeed, great variety. Variation from type is a fact, and the beginning of new developments, good and evil. There is so

great difference between individuals that the practical worker must constantly use discretion, tact, judgment, common sense; and for these qualities there is no substitute in scientific laws.

But variety is not the whole truth; there is likeness, similarity. The child resembles the parents; there is a family look; there are common features in a class; there are race characters. On the basis of likenesses we found laws and principles. The business man discriminates classes of employees and of customers. There are such general laws of life that very much of relief work and penal administration can be directed by statutes and rules. Even in a particular office of charity, cases are classified for convenience, and the classification would be impossible if there were no likenesses.

The main governing and guiding principles of philanthropy are the same in all countries having the same essential ideals. The methods in Germany and England are studied by us because we can learn what is common to us with them. We transfer a successful administrator of charity organization or prison or school from one city or state to another, and confidently expect similar success in the new location. Why? Because there are principles of success, and when these are discovered a man, with suitable personal tact, can apply them anywhere. It is not true that every case is absolutely new, that we must begin without stored intellectual capital with each fresh problem. Life is no such gambling with chance and luck as this would imply.

The practical worker who acts without principles and who never discovers any general laws remains a hopeless floater all his life. All the real leaders in our field of philanthropy were men and women of mental power and comprehension, capable of detecting the wide law in the single fact or situation. John Howard, S. G. Howe, E. C. Wines, were illustrations, and others could be named among the living.

"All theoretical investigations based on a large practical experience must lead to the same conclusions, at least in all essential points, and it is a matter of indifference whether this experience



is gained in England or in America, in Germany or in France. We are not dealing with an empty phrase when we speak of universal principles, founded, not upon territorial and local customs and conditions, but on human nature; though a considerable importance does, of course, attach to these customs and conditions."[1]

This volume is nominally the second edition of a book some time out of print, and it is almost entirely a new book. Since the first edition, a pioneer in this field, the matter and form have been tested and sifted by criticism, by wider reading and further practical experience in charity organization work, and by classroom instruction. It is hoped that the corrections and additions will increase the usefulness of the volume.

To all who have assisted in the preparation of this volume the writer offers his thanks. They have been many and they have been kind.

[1] E. Muensterberg, *American Journal Sociology*, January, 1897. Cf. same Journal, January, 1901, article "Social Technology," by C. R. Henderson.





CONTENTS.

PAGE

PREFACE iii

PART I.

THE PHENOMENA OF DEPENDENCE AND THEIR EXPLANATION.

CHAPTER

I. The Problem Stated 1

II. The Evolution of Inferior and Antisocial Elements . . . 12

III. Explanation of Dependency by Nature and Situation . . . 23

IV. Inheritance, Education, and General Conditions . . . 32

PART II.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION FOR THE RELIEF AND CARE OF DEPENDENTS.

I. Directive Aims of Philanthropy 40

II. The Public Budget and Poor Relief 48

III. Outdoor Legal Relief 52

IV. Principles of Administration of Poor Relief in Families . . 62

V. Public Indoor Relief: the Poorhouse 71

VI. The Unemployed and the Homeless Dependents . . . 83

VII. The Relief and Care of Dependent Children 98

VIII. Medical Charities 121

IX. Voluntary Charity of Individuals and of Associations . . . 138

X. The Charity Organization Society 151

PART III.

SOCIAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE EDUCATION, RELIEF, CARE, AND CUSTODY OF DEFECTIVES.

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Education and Care of the Blind and of Deaf Mutes	169
II.	Education and Custody of the Feeble-minded	174
III.	Social Treatment of the Insane	183
IV.	Further Specialization of Institutions for Defectives	195
V.	State Boards and Federal Functions	202

PART IV.

AN INTRODUCTION TO CRIMINAL SOCIOLOGY.

I.	Data of Criminal Anthropology	215
II.	Causes of Crime	237
III.	The Criminal before the Law	262
IV.	Elements of Prison Science	276
V.	Preventive Measures	308
VI.	Social Treatment of Juvenile Offenders	322
	SURVEY AND OUTLOOK	339
	APPENDIX	349
	INDEX	395



PART I.

Theoretical: The Phenomena of Dependence and Their Explanation.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROBLEM STATED.

1. The Attitude of the Student. — Even for the bare understanding of the phenomena a certain measure of human sympathy is essential to insight and to patience. True benevolence is not inconsistent with steady nerves, clear vision, sound judgment, as we see in the case of many surgeons. John Howard measured the dimensions of prison cells as accurately as an architect, even while he was laying down his life for prisoners and infected invalids. The dry light of science is focused in the lens of affection. Feeling may disturb, blind sentiment may lead astray, and passion may urge rash measures; but the unfeeling are dead to the revealing touch.

Progress will be promoted by asking ourselves: Why should I take up this difficult and somewhat repulsive theme? What are the sustaining motives of interest in this mournful subject? Let no one enter this field who is not prepared to encounter obstacles. A sustaining purpose of high order is required for the study of dependency, because it is a condition of thorough knowledge that we submit our senses of sight, hearing, and smell to very disagreeable facts. Investigation cannot be made by proxy. Sympathy is a personal experience of fellow-feeling with pain; it is suffering. Indignation, disgust, and pity follow each

other in rapid succession. The subject is full of intellectual difficulties. There are frequent disappointments in the quests of science. There is no ready-made solution of social problems. If careful thinking and boundless self-denial and sacrifice could remove pauperism, the world ere this time would have been clear of beggars.

Yet if one is fond of knotty questions that put thought to strain; if horrors fascinate the philanthropic disposition; if there is much of "the mind that was in Christ Jesus," — then the study of dependency will arouse curiosity and will sustain an eager interest. "During twenty odd years of eventful toil in the great city, I never found a depth of misery so deep, a poverty so rank, a crime so atrocious, a despair so black, that some humble follower of Christ did not find it out" (A. C. Wheeler, "Nym Crinkle").

Only as we visualize misery in concrete, sentient persons can we measure the data of our problem. Masses must be analyzed into their human units. "Masses indeed; and yet, singular to say, if, with an effort of imagination, thou follow them, over broad France, into their clay hovels, into their garrets and hutches, the masses consist all of units. Every unit of whom has his own heart and sorrows, stands covered with his own skin, and if you prick him, he will bleed. Dreary, languid do these struggle in their obscure remoteness, their hearth cheerless, their diet thin. For them in this world rises no Era of Hope. Untaught, uncomforted, unfed" (Carlyle).

2. Paths of Interest and Knowledge. — Personal experience is one path to personal interest in the abject poor. King Lear, in his prosperous days, forgot the poor; but when he was cast out from his palace and left shelterless in the cold, beating rain, with a fool for his sole companion, images of those who ever bide the pelting of pitiless storms came to his recollection, and there on the barren heath he thought of "looped and windowed raggedness," and urged the rich to "shake the superflux to them, and show the heavens more just."



The spectacle of suffering is a guide to intimate knowledge. "Josiah Flynt" equips himself for the study of tramps by associating with them. Wyckoff's "The Workers" came from a period of thorough identification of the author with the fortunes of wandering men. Paul Goehre's "Three Months in a German Workshop" supplied pictures of real scenes, and gave the authority of an eye-witness. Residence in a settlement transfigures the dead pages of description and statistics into living forms.

The biologist, studying the phenomena of life, development, heredity, filiation, degeneration, atrophy, crossing, environment, habitat, comes upon various aspects of pauperism and crime. The psychologist, pursuing his laboratory methods with the normal and abnormal manifestations of mental life, becomes acquainted with the feeble and perverted. The economist finds his calculations disturbed by the facts of industrial inefficiency, observes and explains the remote effects of commercial disasters, notices the item for public relief or prisons in the budgets of the commonwealth. The lawyer and legislator are compelled to consider dependence, insanity, and crime in the formation and the administration of statutes. And the sociologist, simply as theorist, cannot ignore the existence of the defectives and the institutions which society has provided for them. In his view of society and in his coördination of all the factors of amelioration he must conjoin the varied elements of knowledge in a consistent and practical scheme of social conduct. All the religious beliefs which are within the range of our experience include a demand for charity.

Observation is the prime source of real knowledge. He who would have genuine impressions, the percepts and concepts corresponding to reality, out of which valid reasoning grows, must go into the homes of the extremely poor and have actual dealings with them as a friend. One may go with visitors of relief societies and almoners of public relief in town or city; or with a physician called to treat a "county case"; or resort to

free hospitals, dispensaries, and poorhouses; or walk in forlorn regions with mission workers who know the haunts and ways of the destitute.

Personal observation is necessarily restricted to a narrow field of vision and must be supplemented by the records of multitudes of observations. Science is a social work, and its structure is built by the associated labors of the entire fraternity of theorists and practical workers. The general government has long been collecting and arranging statistics through the census bureau, the consular reports, and other agencies. The states have printed for the information of the tax paying public the records of the service rendered by charitable institutions. The Charity Organization Society in many cities has steadily developed and improved the modes of gathering and tabulating the results of experience in dealing with urban destitution. Interviews with experts and practical administrators must always be a large part of the education of the student of charities and correction.

To deepen, widen, and refresh the fading impressions of observation the representations of art are valuable. Painters and sculptors stir jaded spirits to feel the reality of poverty. Writers of fiction suggest new fields of research and intensify the moral reaction against morbid social conditions. "Ginx's Baby" stings us with satire; Dickens attracts us to descend with him into the Inferno and Purgatory of human sorrows; Bellamy's "Looking Backward" has at least the merit of arousing the selfish from dreams of luxury; Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children" thrills the sensitive heart, and her "Aurora Leigh" opens all philosophies, all wounds, all modes of cure; Hood's "Song of the Shirt" does not become antiquated so long as sweaters toil in noisome tenements. Hugo's "Les Misérables" still creep along the alleys of our huge towns to unhealthy dens; still the "Children of Gibeon" appeal to us as if they were crouching at our doors; and "All Sorts and Conditions of Men" are our contemporaries. Such is the power of strong imagination that we can go with Meriwether or Josiah Flynt or Wyckoff and learn the



mysteries of tramp life. Mr. J. A. Riis, in "How the Other Half Live," "Children of the Poor," "Out of Mulberry Street," leads us by pictures, though reluctant, to converse with the wretched denizens of the metropolis.

It is true that such works of art have their limitations. They may describe scenes which no longer exist. The artist seldom offers scientific analyses of causes or provides adequate remedies. The novelist is free to fly in air, while the statistician, economist, and sociologist must walk on solid earth, close to facts, and the successful reformer is limited by the conditions of actual life.

3. Limits of this Discussion. — It is impossible to give technical instruction for administrative officers in lectures and books. Nurses of the sick, physicians to the insane, secretaries of charity organizations, may be aided to theory, but must gain discipline and technical training in the actual daily work of their offices. It is our effort here to aid educated social leaders to enter upon a method of study which will conduct them to codified results of wide experience and investigation, so that they may think more effectively, observe more shrewdly, and coöperate in the wisest methods of action. Those who shape and direct public opinion, and who are inspired to zeal by philanthropic motives, need the sociological outlook upon complicated problems. While experts are not equipped by mere reading, yet they may receive a more scientific direction than if they confined themselves to the narrow field of a single institution and its traditions. Professionals in many departments of relief and corrective work should consider the common aims and relating principles revealed by social science, which give unity and dignity to isolated branches of humane service.

We are studying a science, and not practising an art, although these are closely related. Between the mechanic who rivets the bridge and the physicist who experiments with the strength of steel, mediates the mechanical engineer and architect who construct a plan. The merely "practical worker" who affects to despise history and theory becomes obstinate, inflexible, and a

slave of his own little past; while the student of historical methods is more apt to be fresh, inventive, and open to new ideas. But there is no academic substitute for institutional experience under successful managers.

Theoretical social science attempts to ascertain and present the phenomena of a group in completeness, and to account for them by tracing their causes. Practical social science aims to ascertain and present in systematic form an adequate account of the social ends which govern the dealings of society with defectives, and with the organized means for realizing these purposes. Theory leads to truth, to knowledge; practical science leads to conduct in accordance with truth. But beyond both are the arts, trades, special callings, the business of administration, the tasks of the warden, superintendent, and assistants.

4. Theoretical and Practical Aims. — Complete theory, in relation to a concrete group of phenomena, demands a knowledge of the facts in their relations of co-existence in space. For example, we must discover and chart the geographical distribution of crime or insanity. The national census gives us figures by districts, divisions, states, counties, and cities.

The same facts must be studied and presented in the order of their succession in time. Thus we may compare the statistics of insanity at intervals of ten years, and judge whether the evil is increasing or decreasing, in the several localities.

The tendency to uniformity, or the empirical law of the phenomena, is an object of scientific examination. If we arrange our data in their space and time relations, a certain uniform order and degree will be observed. The "law" thus discovered is not something like the decalogue, a decree of the Almighty; nor a legislative statute, binding on all citizens and sanctioned by penalties; but simply an order which is true of a set of conditions and forces, and liable to change to some other order with change of causes and forces.

Scientific method calls for classification by distinctive marks or characteristics, and appropriate naming of each class. Thus



the feeble-minded are distinguished by certain physical and psychical traits from all others, and the institutional arrangements for their care are made with reference to their number and their peculiarities.

The culmination of theoretical science is explanation, rationale, or the discovery of efficient causes. By a cause we mean the sum of all the forces and conditions of an act or state within the cosmic order. We are not discussing the First Cause, a topic of theology; nor "final causes," the purposes of the Author of nature; but natural or efficient causes, whether in physical or social science.

Beyond theory is practical science, whose method is to proceed through what is to what ought to be. This part of our discipline involves standards of judgment, criticism of actual social conditions and arrangements in the light of these standards, and a system of correlated means for making conditions and forces work toward our ideals of what ought to be.

The actual treatment of dependents, defectives, and delinquents is a social task. The existence and activities of paupers and criminals affect the physical and spiritual welfare of every member of the entire people; they influence every institution of the community, industrial, political, educational, and ecclesiastical. The burden of support and punishment must be borne by all. Therefore, the subject must be considered from the standpoint of the whole community, and in full view of all its interests.

The interests involved are economical, industrial, educational, religious, æsthetic, political. The problems considered cannot be studied without information from all the sciences which deal with health, with industry, with commerce, with education, with law, with religion. A merely economical discussion is manifestly inadequate, although the economic factor is essential, and the science of economics must yield its verdict in every discussion. A merely legal consideration is inadequate, although in the poor laws and labor laws we have a part of the social



machinery of relief and control. Sanitary science and medical science are tributary to our study, yet each covers only a section of the field.

Without boasting that the name of science can yet be fairly claimed for sociology, we may safely affirm that such a subject as ours cannot logically be treated elsewhere, and that, if success has not yet crowned their hopes, the sociologists are sincerely working at the foundations of a method which is essential to any satisfactory solution of every single problem which engages the interest of every community.

5. Definitions and Classification. — "Dependents" are those who, from any cause, exist by means supplied by the voluntary acts of the community, by gifts from public funds or private sources. We shall discuss "defectives" so far as their infirmities make them dependent on the community.

"Delinquents" are persons who derive their support, at least in part, by imposing an involuntary burden or sacrifice upon the community, and whose hurtful acts are forbidden by law.

We adhere to this grouping, in the face of adverse criticism, for practical reasons. It is made the basis of actual social arrangements, as census reports, and the divisions of functions of charities and correction in public administration. It is admitted that these groups are secondary formations and very complex in composition, and that other methods of classification are better for some purposes. But they are actual and definable groups, recognized by common observation and fixed in habits of thought and speech.

The group of dependents, as defined, is composed of mingled elements, and its members stand in varied relations to society, as they differ in nature, disposition, and ability. Some are unfortunate, and their dependence is accidental; as, for example, old persons who have been industrious and frugal but late in life have lost friends and means. Others bear the marks of the pauper spirit, the willingly dependent.

The epithet "pauper" has several meanings, and may imply



mere legal dependence, without regard to character, or it may signify degradation and mendicancy. Very worthy persons occasionally are compelled to accept public relief, and thus come to be on the lists of paupers.

The point at which dependence is recognized by the community varies with conditions. Climate, stage of culture, local customs of nourishment and dress, class standards, wealth of the prosperous citizens, are factors which enter the problem. Where all are poor, very few can be supported by neighbors, and that only when want touches suffering. Where the climate is warm pauperism is a lighter burden, because the demand for clothing, housing, and food is less pressing. Where the standard of comfort is high, on the contrary, and wealth is diffused, and charity is popular, the signs of misery which elicit help need not be so tragical and sensational, for even discomfort excites pity.

Dependence on the community is determined largely by the stage of social organization. Under the ancient conditions of slavery and serfdom the laborer was cared for by his owner and the serf by his lord. It is sometimes said, with truth and bitterness, that the capitalist cares for his machines and his horses, but not for his human agents of production, the wage-earners. There is occasional justice in the taunt and complaint. The rich man's stables are frequently finer than the dwellings of his employees. But part of this misery of the poor is an accompaniment of the modern régime of personal freedom; we live under a system of nominal free contracts, and are on the way upward to a condition of entirely free contracts. This new and higher position brings new perils, and the sufferings which attend readjustments. But freedom is an advance on slavery and serfdom, as manhood, with all its cares, is above infancy and youth.

In Scotland, so long as there was a clan organization, a national poor law had but limited value and application. But when the clan dissolved and strangers became citizens, and there was no sense of obligation of relatives to support them, the need of legal provision came to be felt, and the poor law was introduced.



In all parts of the world, from early ages, there has been some social provision for the weak and dependent, if ever so meagre and inadequate. But community responsibility, in the political sense, is a comparatively late phase of civilization. In tribal organization only the members of the tribe feel under obligation to help; but under modern political organization each member of the state is under obligations of law to all others, and the state recognizes the claim of each citizen to protection, help, and support. In a period of transition, the readjustment causes much suffering and loss, as we see among the negroes of the South. The old forms of control and assistance are dead, and the new forms are not yet born. But the higher will come in due time.

All human beings are dependent on parents in infancy, and helplessness is natural to the babe. But the children of self-supporting families are not wards of the community. In a certain sense, the inhabitants of a modern commonwealth are so related as to need each other far more than men at barbarian levels of culture. Increased unlikeness of parts implies great dependence of parts. The savage makes all the coarse articles his few and simple wants require, but the civilized artisan makes one article, and looks to all the world for the other objects of satisfaction. Not all the poor are dependents, and poverty is a merely relative matter. A poor Irishman would be counted rich in Patagonia. Dependence admits degrees and shades off upward into simple misfortune and downward into abject beggary or crime. In its extreme form we have pauperism, a word which carries with it a suggestion of weakness, inferiority, and reproach. The typical "pauper" is a social parasite, who attaches himself to others, and, by living at their expense, suffers loss of energy and ability by disease and atrophy. Pauperism at this stage is a loathsome moral disease, more difficult to cure than crime.

There is solidarity, organic connection, between dependents and delinquents. They cannot be studied or treated as if they belonged in compartments separated by impervious walls. Very



often a single family will impose on society the burden of ill-born and badly trained children, who will be dispersed in later years among dependents, defectives, and delinquents. The most feeble members will drift into asylums for incurables; the women will recruit the army of outcasts; the men will swell the ranks of vagabonds and thieves. Those who reach old age will hide in the shelter of the county poorhouse.



CHAPTER II.

THE EVOLUTION OF INFERIOR AND ANTISOCIAL ELEMENTS.

DEFECT is an incident of evolution. Assuming, at least hypothetically, that all life is continuous in one system of related beings, we may reason from the phenomena of plant and animal life to the life of human beings, so far as they have vital qualities in common. Having to account for inherited and acquired defect in the physical and psychical natures of men, we may learn much to the purpose from a study of injury, defective nutrition, transmission of qualities, variation and selection in the science of biology. The biologist prepares part of the data for sociology.

We may make painless experiments with all kinds of plants and animals to discover the effects of changes in light, temperature, position, chemical reactions, electricity, and food on the individual in its development from the germ. The general laws of heredity and nurture move upward through all strata of living creatures to the highest. Even where a degree of pain is necessarily inflicted, if the experiments are regulated by intelligence and humanity, the results justify the cost, since not only men, but also lower animals, share in the advantages of advancing science. The veterinary surgeon is as dependent on the revelations of vivisection as the family physician and teacher. Hundreds of thousands of horses, cattle, and pets are saved from pain and disease in consequence of the vicarious sufferings endured by a few sentient creatures in the laboratories of competent experimenters. There is no excuse for tyros and bunglers who hack at random, without guidance or purpose, into quivering flesh.

It is in the laboratory that we discover the conditions which cause arrested development of the central nervous system,



deformity, disease, and the ways of transmitting characters to posterity. Comte has shown how closely biology and sociology are related in this enterprise.

"But we saw, in our survey of biology, that pathological cases are the true scientific equivalents of pure experimentation. The same reasons apply, with even more force, to sociological researches. In them, pathological analysis consists in the examination of cases, unhappily too common, in which the natural laws, either of harmony or succession, are disturbed by any causes, special or general, accidental or transient. These disturbances are, in the social body, exactly analogous to diseases in the individual organism. In both cases it is a noble use of our reason to discover the real laws of our nature, individual or social, by the analysis of its sufferings."

The range of experiment is much wider than is sometimes represented. It might be possible to determine something of the relative importance of heredity and culture by studying a series of infants whose parentage is known to be defective, but who have been transplanted to good family surroundings. But it is very difficult to follow such adopted children, because it is ordinarily best for all parties to hide the past and give the child the advantage of the new start and name. And furthermore, defective children owe part of their inferiority to early influence as well as to inherited qualities.

Galton and others have studied a large number of successful and of inferior individuals with a view to discovering the causes which led to their marked characteristics. Here, again, it is extremely difficult to isolate the causes and to determine which are most significant.

Dugdale and McCulloch followed down the line of degraded families, in all their intermarriages, for several generations, and sought to define the part played by heredity and education. Even here the results are confused.

But when we turn to the studies of biologists the conditions are far more favorable to definite conclusions, because they have before them all the field of plant and animal life; they can vary conditions at will; and they can submit each object to experi-

ment under control. Social experience can never be quite equal to scientific experiment, because we are ordinarily prohibited by humane sentiments and interests from subjecting human beings to any conditions which must inevitably injure them in health or character. All men are living beings, and so far come under the laws of life in general. We here call attention to some of the results of biology so far as they illuminate our problem and help us account for defect and criminal disposition.

1. **Variation.** — The defects of inferior individuals are explained by all the facts which account for variation, since defectives are departures from a normal type. From the moment of conception to the end of life there is a play of millions of forces acting upon the growing and living creature, and tending to produce great variety of form, degrees of energy, power of resistance, and faculty for adaptation. All differences from parents are due to variation, and from this origin spring all that is new, and not due to ancestors, whether better or worse. Here lies the possibility of advance and also of degeneration.

The causes of variation may be internal and spontaneous, without any known external explanation of the difference. But external conditions are also at work, as parasites, microbes, climate, food, heat, light. The new elements are combined in the offspring of parents, and the result is a new structure.

In this process of variation it will be found that some individuals are superior, and others inferior, to the average. This is the beginning of the abnormal, the monstrous, the undeveloped, the feeble, the perverted. It is in this investigation of the causes of variation that we must seek for the physical factors which influence or determine the traits which are handed down, and either reduced or aggravated in the process of transmission.

2. **Transmission.** — Common and scientific observation reveal a tendency to transmit the defects of parents to their offspring, and this helps to explain the nature of paupers and criminals.

One of the most conspicuous illustrations of certain transmission of traits is seen in the likeness of members of races. The



pictures and statues and carved figures of ancient Chaldea, Egypt, and Assyria, on monuments and in graves, show how persistent are race types. Plants, animals, and men are so alike that descendants resemble their progenitors of five thousand years ago. In the study of inferior types, allowance must be made for race traits. The pointed head, heavy jaw, thick lips, and woolly hair of a negro are normal with him; but these features if seen in any high degree in an Aryan would be monstrous. In investigations this must be borne in mind, and the normal type of each race must be the standard.

Innate characteristics are those which inhere from conception in the fecundated ovum and its products. Such characteristics are, in general, transmissible, but their actual transmission depends on many factors, as crossing and external conditions. Structure is thus handed down from father to son, as stature, form, color of skin and hair. The functions of the body are inherited, as timbre of voice, manner of walking, gestures, longevity, feebleness. The physical basis influences psychical manifestations, and so there is an inheritance of tastes, habits, and disposition. But as to these latter it is difficult to distinguish between heredity and imitation of parents.

Diseases and monstrosities are directly transmitted, but again we must seek to distinguish from inheritance the effects of outward conditions, infection, and contagion subsequent to conception. Mental diseases are frequently the direct result of an inherited defect in nervous structure, while syphilis seems to be due to the transmission of specific microbes. These examples will illustrate the two different modes of transmission. It is questioned among medical men whether the bacillus of tuberculosis is, in the biological sense, transmitted.

Passing to the inheritance of acquired characteristics, we enter a controversy whose determination lies with biologists. Lamarckism is the theory that traits acquired are inherited by offspring, so that each new generation starts with the results of past experience and training, or of vice and ignorance, organized

in the physical structure of infants. Neo-Darwinians claim that the effects of acquired traits disappear with the individual, and that natural selection must be taken to explain adaptation, evolution, and regression; and that improvements must be gained only by selection, never by education. If acquired characters are transmitted, then we may hopefully employ education, not only to influence the individual, but also to improve his progeny and descendants. Practically, our methods are not essentially determined by this controverted doctrine. We may employ time and energy on either theory in the use of both education and selection.

The trait generally appears at about the same age in offspring and parent. For example, a nervous disease or an affection of the alimentary canal which attacked a parent at the fortieth year, is likely to trouble the child at the same period of life. In the adoption of foundlings or other children of unknown parentage, we cannot foretell whether a disease or defect which is masked in youth may not break forth at a later stage of development.

Traits are not always inherited under the exact form shown by parents, and there is a transformation of defects. An epileptic may become parent of a maniac; an insane mother may have a hysterical daughter; simple nervousness and excessive irritability in the parent appears as chorea or insanity in the offspring; the inebriate's child becomes an idiot, dies of consumption, or at puberty is abandoned to unbridled lust.

Toxic substances introduced into the organism of parents influence the child. This is especially true of alcohol. The offspring of alcoholics are often maniacs or epileptics. The drunkard himself may cease to sow his wild oats and reform, and afterward enjoy a long and comfortable life; and yet some of his children may reap of his sowing in lingering disease or vicious character. Transitory states of intoxication do not seem so important as continual subjection to the influence of poisonous liquors, and consequent chronic deterioration of nervous tissues.



The doctrine of atavism plays a part in the discussion of defect and criminality. Traits of body and mind appear in a contemporary family which did not manifest themselves in the parents. Characteristics may lie hidden for two or more generations and then suddenly come to light, as if a river should disappear in the sand, flow a long distance under the surface, and emerge at a lower level with great force and volume. It may be that the development of the individual is arrested in the embryo, at a stage somewhat corresponding to the form of an inferior animal, so that the mental processes exhibit some of the marks of an inferior race of remote ancestors, or even of irrational animals. In such cases the person fails to make his adjustment to the social life of this advanced age.

It is commonly believed by stock breeders and gardeners that "close breeding" gradually tends to the production of inferior animals or plants, so that frequent crossing with new blood, or change of seed, is advised. The biological problem is involved in the question of the effect of marriage of near relations. It is doubtful whether the marriage of healthy cousins is unfavorable to offspring, but there is a general agreement that diseases and weaknesses are intensified by such marriages. Thus deaf mutism, consumption, and feeble-mindedness are aggravated when persons near of kin, and burdened with the same defects, are married.

3. The Struggle for Life. — This subject must be studied in connection with variation and heredity. The inferior variant enters by the gate of birth into a scene of conflict and effort where power is tested, weakness discovered, and the adapted survive. The botanist and zoölogist discover this law of life running upward through all orders of existence, and affirm that humanity is not exempt. Urged by the two primitive impulses of hunger and love, men, like all living beings, seek nature's ends of self-preservation and propagation. Nature does not yield the means of existence without toils and pains. If any protected lives are supported without labor of their own, it is as parasites



who feed upon the fruits of the labor of others, or as minors who will some day do their part.

There are many destructive natural agencies, as malaria, intense cold or heat, fire, flood, and tempest, which make life difficult. Poisonous and bloodthirsty beasts compete with man. As population multiplies on certain desirable areas of the limited earth surface, the groups and nations of men come into conflict over the possession of pasturage, tillable lands, or markets for manufactured goods. Laborers compete with each other for the opportunity to earn wages, the means of satisfying the demands of hunger, love, and higher wants. Artisan bids against artisan, manager against manager, salesman against salesman, physician against physician.

The human struggle has human characteristics. It is not merely for subsistence, but for distinction, honor, rank, control, power, elegance, comfort, knowledge. Man has attained keener and larger intellectual powers, fights with more powerful weapons. Civilization modifies the agencies and methods of conflict, but does not bring it to an end.

The form of this struggle for life is modified by improvements, inventions, and industrial organization. The taste of men becomes more severe, and coarse textiles, which were satisfactory to barbarous peoples or to the untaught, are refused by fashion. In many occupations more swift, accurate, and sustained work is demanded. The engineer and conductor who succeed the cart driver and coachman require a higher form of training. Complicated machinery displaces simple tools, and asks more thought power. While some processes have been simplified, on the whole inferiority is put to greater strain. Fewer places are left for the half capable.

4. The Issue of this Struggle. — This age-long contest for food and honor has compelled invention, produced the arts, and trained selected men. But there is a nether aspect which concerns us here, the production and fate of the inferior variant, sometimes called the degenerate. With arrest of development



and increased liability to disease, with a nervous system which has not attained normal power of functioning, go corresponding defects of mental and moral life.

What is the fate of these defective persons? Millions of them perish in infancy or at the first stress of life. The tendency of the unfit is toward extinction. Some crowd inferior places, do menial and unpleasant work at low wages, as the price of existence. Others are parasitic and are supported by their families or at public expense. The employer of labor rejects many as unemployable. The teachers in public schools find them slow, stupid, feeble-minded in all degrees. The legislator confronts them with poor laws and with criminal statutes or prisons.

But this same social evolution has produced sympathy or altruism. The origin of a disposition to care for the weak is ancient and deep as parenthood. In human life its beginning was in the maternal instinct, without which the race would perish in the helplessness of infancy. The struggle for self-preservation is modified by race feelings. In all nations these race-preserving sympathies have found expression, at first in the clan or tribe, later in the state, finally in a philanthropy which overleaps the narrow limits of caste and sect, and regards man as man. These sympathies have created institutions, customs of mercy, having for their purpose the general welfare, the correction of evil, the relief of misery, the good of the degraded, the progress of mankind.

5. The Spiritual Environment. — To prevent misunderstanding we must distinctly bear in mind that the external world of nature and material human works is not the entire environment of each man, nor the most important part of it. The ideas, beliefs, hopes, and fears which rule the psychical life are in the air, and all about us. Beliefs are as real as habitat and climate, food and housing. There will be few paupers, beggars, and criminals in proportion as the beliefs of the people are favorable to social morality. Thomas Chalmers proudly used the poor Scotch peasants as illustrations of the triumph of self-control among humble

people who had pure ideals, thrift, and independence of spirit. The standard of life is a social psychical fact. It works by suggestion, imitation, fashion, and custom.

How far these influences of culture affect the race physically, and thus form the material conditions of higher psychical activities, will depend on the truth or error of the doctrine of the heritability of acquired characteristics. But that they affect all members of society directly there can be no question, and there is no controversy. The psychical tradition, in books, pictures, laws, customs, institutions, is handed down as really as physical traits are transmitted by generation; and this spiritual tradition acts educationally on communities most powerfully, constantly, and with increasing momentum. It may be a metaphor to speak of a "spiritual inheritance," but the phrase tells a vital truth. There are two directions given by this spiritual tradition, one toward progress, and the other toward debasement and ruin, "the environment of neglect."

6. Selection. — Our study of biological laws is not complete without indicating the significance of selection in relation to our subject. In the lower and earlier stages of the struggle for life, the process of selection is purely natural, without plan or design on the part of the participants. Without entering upon a full description of this age-long process we may sum it up in the sentence: At awful cost of suffering and life, there has been a gradual elimination of the races not suited to life on this planet, a gradual introduction of higher and nobler forms of life, and an approximate adaptation of inferior forms to lowlier tasks.

But while this same process is carried forward in human society, an element of prevision and provision mingles with the struggle. Before the advent of man there was an animal instinct, shared now by human beings, to choose the best mates and reject the imperfect. This race-preserving and race-improving sexual selection has played a large part in the history of our species. The individuals which have not this instinct tend to perish with-



out offspring, and leave those better endowed to continue the species. But all this is at terrible cost, with many blunders.

The highest stage of selection is rational and purposeful. Men select the finest stallions and mares, the best specimens of bulls for breeding, the most perfect wheat grains for seed in fields devoted to grain. More slowly and hesitatingly they have begun to apply the same principle to marriage and the propagation of the human species. Plato gave the hint ages ago in a utopian and immoral scheme; but ignorance and appetite, prejudice and superstition, have been obstacles in the way of working out and applying his idea in a form acceptable to Christian morality.

Purposeful selection, however, is not always made in view of social advantage. A man may prefer a rich and neurotic wife to a poorer woman who is strong and capable. Among ignorant and animal-like human beings marriage is chiefly a matter of proximity and the accident of contact; and with the very lowest classes sexual union is blind and heedless of results.

In connection with the subject of selection must be considered the effects of methods of relief and correction. Indiscriminate charity encourages the practices of begging. Outdoor relief in support of degraded families, without returns in work, tends to increase the number of those who would perish if left to their own resources. Many examples could easily be given in all communities of debased stocks breeding and continuing to live at the expense of public and private charity.

It is claimed by friends of deaf mutes that the modern method of educating persons of this class in separate institutions tends to create a stock of families in whom the defect is hereditary and accompanied with other grave deformities.

It is true that in some institutions, as crowded infant asylums, charity has found a way of effectually exterminating imperfect and illegitimate children. Hospitals founded with pious intent, but managed by the incompetent, become plague-smitten, and increase mortality. But such results are not sought, the sincere purpose of philanthropy being to prolong the individual life.



These illustrations do not prove that charity is necessarily cruel, but that in effect it may be, and that it is under obligation not to promote a selection of the unfit if it is possible to avoid it. Hereafter we shall point out methods by which the sufferer may be mercifully cared for without being permitted to injure the quality of the race hereafter. It is enough at this point to show with emphasis how charity may be an accomplice of vice, ignorance, and brutality.



CHAPTER III.

EXPLANATION OF DEPENDENCY BY NATURE AND SITUATION.

At this point we pass from consideration of general laws of causation, biological and historical, to a direct study of individuals. The primary data are furnished by observation of individual cases. All further steps depend on the insight and accuracy of the first impressions. Tables of statistics have no higher value than the original entries out of which they are composed; and the original entries are the particular judgments of individuals who are in contact with the dependent persons.

1. The Problem. — Our problem is to account for dependence on the community. While most dependents are weak and inferior in body and mind, they are by no means all degenerate or abnormal. Our problem is far wider than a study of defect. Multitudes of people become dependent, at least temporarily, by fire, flood, or epidemics. Old people and little children may require support, although they are entirely normal. The explanation, therefore, must proceed from the study of the nature of the individual outward to his situation, and still farther, to his heredity and culture, and to the general social conditions which have affected all these factors. The intelligent worker is very likely to carry on his study in this order, from the particular case to the wide sweep of law.

If independent observers, in various cities and states, reach approximately the same judgment as to the value of causes, this correspondence commands a high degree of confidence.

2. Value of Statistics. — The tabulation of a multitude of separate cases actually adds to the kind of knowledge derived from local and isolated observations. By reaching an average



from a large number of cases, the mind is protected from taking a striking and theatrical exception for the rule. A general law, or uniform process of events, is discovered by recording the data in their time and space relations of succession and co-existence. The vague guess of the individual student is changed into the more exact measurement of the mathematician, wherever measurement is possible. The individual case reveals a fact, but statistics exhibit the extent and degree of the fact. The geographical boundaries of a social plague are revealed by the statistical devices of charts and maps. The breaks and variations in the regular lines of figures suggest new forces causally at work.

3. Grades of Statistical Groups. — Different observers deal with varying kinds of dependents, and their records will vary with the conditions which fall under their notice.. Four fairly distinct levels may be defined: (1) Dependent children are registered and described in the records of orphanages, children's aid societies, and reform schools. (2) Partially dependent persons come under the notice of public and private agencies for outdoor relief. Families aided by churches and other voluntary associations are generally of a higher type than those who become public paupers. (3) Entirely dependent persons are studied in institutions of indoor relief, and there we must expect to find lower degrees of weakness, and advanced dissolution of powers. Those who are aided by private charity will usually give evidence of a better past history than those who drift to public almshouses. (4) Finally, the records of institutions for the abnormal, as feeble-minded, insane, epileptic, will yield a series of life histories very different from all the others. A general average of the grand totals of causes noticed under such varying conditions would have no value and would be positively misleading. Those figures which relate to limited groups will be more nearly correct and significant.

4. Personal Helplessness may arise from the physical and mental conditions due to weakness of age, sex, disease, ignorance,



and lack of industrial training. All these factors vary in endless complexity, react upon each other, and give rise to other effects.

Age. — If we make age the central point of attention we shall find the widest differences according to the group studied. In the records of orphanages the helplessness of childhood is the chief cause of dependence, while in a poorhouse old age is most important. To personal feebleness from immaturity or decay of powers must be joined absence of natural support to account for pauperism. In an old country, from which many youthful emigrants have gone to seek better fortunes, there will be relatively many aged dependents, while in a new colony dependence will affect children in a most marked way.

Sex. — Personal helplessness may result from conditions of sex and marital relations. In a community where the men move much from place to place, seeking occupation, where all are restless, and where there are many young people, widows will be found requiring help to care for children, and in cities deserted wives must be aided. The cowardice or despair of husbands and the cruelty of death make a demand upon charitable aid. In a coast town the widows of fishermen drowned at sea struggle for existence, and in mining regions the accidents of dark tunnels leave mourners and helpless infants dependent on benevolence.

Disease and Injury. — Physical defect prepares the way for dependence on the community, and sickness is a constantly recurring plea of the needy. The breadwinner is incapacitated for earning support, the spirit and hope of the family are broken down, and solicitation of help grows into a parasitic habit. The almshouses, asylums, hospitals, are crowded with evidences of the close connection between physical infirmity and dependence.

Adaptation to the economic environment demands knowledge, *training*, and technical skill; ignorance and awkwardness are a burden and obstacle. Original incapacity, dulness, or family and community neglect may be to blame for this condition. The immigrant who has just been transplanted from a familiar situa-

tion to a social state which confuses and troubles him, unacquainted with the language of street and shop, surrounded by unscrupulous sharpers, and jostled aside by competitors for employment, has a difficult task. The old vagabond, pictured by Beranger, sought instruction of artisans in his youth, and they told him there were too many workmen already; he must go beg. Thus he became an "insect made to injure man," instead of a producer for the good of all.

5. **Unsocial Habits.** — If we move backward from a condition of helplessness to such causes of that condition as are due to unsocial habits, we shall come upon a new range of forces. Alcoholism, licentiousness, and roving may be selected as typical examples of the most important elements in this class.

Drink and Drug Habits. — There is no better place than this to illustrate the effect of a personal or partisan bias in the field of pure theory. The estimates of the responsibility of drink for pauperism vary with country, party, and occupation. The original schedules and records of cases were filled up by persons of all shades of opinion. The radical prohibitionist finds drink in almost every case of pauperism and crime; others, with a different bias, seldom discover it. But this very fact makes the statistics, when reduced to averages, all the more worthy of confidence. They come to us from all civilized lands; and everywhere in Europe and America most observers agree to assign a large place to alcoholism as a cause.

It is not difficult to account for this judgment. Money expended on stimulants is taken from food and other necessary articles and bestowed upon a substance which is rarely useful, perhaps never necessary, and in multitudes of instances ruinous. The breadwinner who puts an enemy into his mouth to steal away his brains is incapacitated for industry and responsibility. The steady drinker is personally exposed to more frequent sickness and accident, and his offspring are liable to be idiotic, feeble, or insane. Boys imitate the example of their seniors, and thus a social custom gains a mastery of entire groups and generations



of men. Strong men become feeble and destitute through the drink habit, and are recorded as abstainers at a later period of life in prisons and poorhouses, because they are too poor to purchase liquor and are, perhaps, too lifeless and apathetic to crave excitement. The enfeebled children of drinking men may crave stimulants for this very reason, that vitality in them runs so low.

Intemperance is partly an effect, even where it acts as cause. The crowded living rooms, the hot sleeping chambers, the ill-cooked and indigestible food, the irksome and exhausting labor, induce men to drink.

Licentiousness and kindred evils, according to the testimony of many physicians and observers, induce weakness of body and will, the root of that economic dependence which leads to pauperism. The excesses, abuses, and perversion of the sexual function rank with drink among the chief causes of social parasitism. These abuses do not attract so much public notice as intemperance in drink, because they cannot be discussed so plainly in mixed companies. But society should be taught in suitable ways that these excesses and abuses of the natural function induce feebleness, rob men of the will to live and the joy of struggle, and the power to take the initiative or to persevere in industry.

From the same vicious indulgence arise specific contagious and hereditary diseases which deplete the vital forces and continue their fearful ravages with innocent persons, wives and children, even to the third and fourth generation. Nervous maladies follow, insanity, idiocy, and epilepsy. Liability to ordinary diseases is increased because the power of resistance is undermined.

These perversions are intensified by the trade of prostitution, for the women who seek support by this calling are a constant incitement to lust, and are compelled to invent attractions to prevent their own starvation. The social environment of street, playground, shop, and home are debased by the conversation, gestures, and conduct of the depraved; and then the customs react on individuals to their own undoing. Illegitimate children are



exposed to higher mortality because of the fear and shame of the mother previous to birth, and to the desertion or neglect which ordinarily follow birth. The infamous theory, born of lust, that these "children of love" are superior to children born in wedlock, has no general ground in reason or experience, and is made plausible only by citation of exceptional instances.

Sexual licentiousness is itself an effect which requires explanation. Its basis is in a physical appetite, which has its natural and appropriate function in the perpetuation of the race and the affection and culture of the family. Its excesses and abuses are due to local irritation, local or affecting certain nervous centres. They are aggravated by neglect of exercise in the open air and physical training, by sedentary habits and nervous excitements. Suggestion, imitation, and precocious instruction of thoughtless, ignorant, and unprincipled persons are influential. Crowded sleeping rooms, unscrupulous overseers in shops and stores, neglect of modesty in dress and play, salacious pictures and books, base advertisements of quack doctors, are foes of purity and self-control. Even some physicians have been known to flatter vice by advising mere boys that precocious indulgence is good for health and growth. The public and permitted solicitation of harlots on the streets or at windows in cities is evil. The want of high spiritual, religious, intellectual, and æsthetic interests offers an empty soul for the incoming of unclean demons. The tables of causes furnished by charity societies naturally give no adequate notion of the extent of this evil, since it is a cause which will not be voluntarily suggested or discovered by direct questions.

Shiftlessness and Roving. — Closely related to the want of skill which we have already noted is the absence of industrial habits, steadiness, persistence, honesty, love of struggle, ambition. Laziness, shiftlessness, and irregularity are fatal qualities in our rigorous climate.

As the normal home is the conservator of morality, the stimulus to industry, the garden of virtues, so the abandonment of



family obligations, the nomadic impulse to wander aimlessly, the contempt for the obligations of marriage and parenthood, are springs of misery and poverty. The tramp manifests this trait in exaggerated degree, but the wife-deserter is only too common.

Race Traits. — The inherited characteristics of race belong to the nature of persons. Physical and psychical traits are very persistent, and in the conglomerate population of the United States deserve careful study. The records of public and private agencies of relief note the habits and disposition of dependents of various races, and their tendencies toward drunkenness, licentiousness, shiftlessness, crime, and dishonesty. But these statistics must be used with extreme caution.

Inherited race traits must be viewed in connection with social opportunities. The negro in a northern city is urged downward toward pauperism, and especially toward crime, not alone by his racial defects, but also by the social prejudices which close against him the doors of remunerative employment even in occupations for which he is adapted. The statistics which seem to show that the Irish furnish more than their quota of pauperism from alcohol, as compared with the Germans, must be explained in part by the kinds of beverages to which they have been accustomed.

6. The External Conditions must be regarded in connection with the state of helplessness and the inner nature of the dependents observed. Weakness, even when extreme, does not become the occasion of resort to public help, if the person owns property or is supported by relatives or friends. There are three situations, external to the person, which determine the form and degree of dependence: lack of normal support, deficient income from employment, and undue burdens and obligations of family.

Lack of Normal Support. — Imprisonment of the breadwinner stops the natural source of supply for children and wife. The number of offences for which men are confined in jails and prisons has increased greatly since the abolition of hanging and



whipping. The very poor man, arrested for intoxication, is unable to pay his fine, and he goes to the house of correction or jail, while the members of his family suffer. Orphans of the poor and children abandoned by unnatural parents fall as a burden upon the public for support.

Neglect by relatives is the title of a column of pathetic figures, the symbols of multitudes of heart tragedies. Back of the icy numbers the imagination must paint the wan sister dying of consumption in a hospital, the withered mother whose offspring leaves her to the cold charity of the world, the decrepit grandfather driven from the hearth of unfeeling descendants.

"No male support" is often scheduled where the widow or deserted wife stands at the office window of the poor official and appeals for the means of prolonging an unhappy existence.

Employment. — With most people in cities the daily wage is the daily source of supply. If the employment is irregular, inadequate, or poorly paid, then charity must supplement industry. The extent to which these causes operate varies with seasons, places, and general industrial conditions. We must carefully distinguish between times of general distress and the ordinary times of prosperous commerce. Those who are wanting in strength, skill, efficiency, industry, and honesty are most exposed to the vicissitudes of enforced idleness.

Unhealthy and dangerous employments cast upon philanthropy many of its burdens. The very weakness of ill health compels certain persons to accept employment in close shops, where health is still further impaired and ruin made complete.

Extraordinary Burdens frequently fall upon those least able to carry them. The number of children waxes as strength for industry wanes. The earnings of an unskilled laborer are often greater at his twentieth year than when he is fifty years of age. They are seldom large enough to cover the expense of an ordinary family in a decent way and furnish savings enough for prolonged illness and advanced life. Sickness is a calamity when the ordinary income barely meets modest daily wants.



The best expert estimates of the relative importance of all these causes may be found in the appendix to this volume. But we must constantly be reminded that no one of these causes acts alone; and the attempt to single them out, one by one, for measurement, is very liable to divert our attention from the most significant fact of all, the intricacy of the network of interwoven causes which invest a sinking family. In the story of the giant in "Gulliver's Travels," who was bound by pygmies, it was not any one fine thread which held him to earth, but the millions of strands which the busy little men carried over his body in every direction. We must be careful not to sacrifice this truth to a false show of scientific accuracy.



CHAPTER IV.

INHERITANCE, EDUCATION, AND GENERAL CONDITIONS.

STILL proceeding from direct observation made on particular dependents outward to meet the great circling tides of general evolution, we come upon the zone of ancestral tendencies and immediate educational influences of all kinds.

1. Inheritance and Culture. — Two factors combine with personal endeavor in the making of a character, inheritance and culture. Both may be observed, but never entirely separate, in the case of those who solicit social help. The dependent usually inherits from ancestors defects of body and mind, which disqualify him in some degree to meet the demands of a competitive world. That very struggle which draws out the highest power of the capable sweeps him downward to defeat. He would perish but for the assistance of this same competitive community. Those traits of personal helplessness which we have just been regarding as causes of pauperism must now be treated as effects, and in turn their sources must be traced. The biological method of explanation has already been used to discover the universal laws of evolution under which defects appear and are transmitted. At this point we test these generalizations by facts drawn from immediate study of human beings who manifest less than average fitness for the conditions.

Rarely do the records of relief societies and public almoners tell us about the progenitors of the applicants. Such records are made to give light for present and future action, not to explain remote antecedents. This is a serious practical error, which will be rectified in the future of scientific charity. Where books



have been kept in a county poorhouse for a long time, we can follow the same names backward along the line of heredity. Thus, indirectly, the records made for a practical purpose come to have a high theoretical value.

Some notable studies have been made by selecting particular families of degraded character and making extended inquiries into their ancestry. The stem of a family tree is followed down to its roots. Among the most remarkable of these studies are those of Mr. Dugdale in his book, "The Jukes," and Mr. McCulloch's "Tribe of Ishmael."

But how much is due to heredity and how much to the depraving surroundings of home and neighborhood? "Poor folks have poor ways." The children of "The Jukes" not only inherited certain physical defects from their parents, but also grew up under their influence, imitated their example, learned their modes of thought and expression, caught their low tricks of reasoning.

If we could study the life histories of many children, taken from vicious homes and adopted by cultivated and upright foster parents, we might have a new basis for estimating the relative importance of heredity and culture. But we have already noted the difficulty of making such studies, and it is rarely attempted. Foster parents usually desire to conceal the past history of adoptive children, even if they know it themselves, especially if the children do well and become dear to them. In the case of those who turn out badly we have scant information.

From such observations as have been made, we are justified in drawing certain limited and tentative conclusions. When adopted children are under six years of age and of sound body, the influence of good education and example may predominate over inherited tendencies. When the age of adoption is higher, we have to deal with acquired habits working in the same direction with vicious traits; and there is less hope of improvement through change of environment. There remain the numerous instances of defective brains, weakness, and disease, for which



heredity is altogether to blame and which culture and training can only in part modify, and never remove.

2. External Conditions. — If we enter the localities where pauperism is rank and flourishing, we observe certain depressing factors more conspicuous there than in neighborhoods of the prosperous. There is a causal connection between these depressing conditions and those traits of helplessness which mark the dependent classes. It is legitimate to infer that pauperism must come from conditions which, even in advance of direct evidence of destitution, tend to lower vitality, diminish income, produce disease, inefficiency, and immorality. The process of race evolution goes on continually and without break. The traits which are transmitted, evil and good, are produced before our eyes by changes in the contemporary world.

Physical environment modifies the forces which act upon the weak. In warm climates the expenditure for food, clothing, and housing may be relatively small as compared with the requirements of severe winters of our Northern regions. In bleak and barren lands the inhabitants are ever in sight of hunger, but the social standards may be so low that a difference between dependents and others is scarcely noticed.

Housing. — The place of family residence is the primary external influence on the life of individuals, and hence we can easily trace to improper housing many of the causes of disease, weakness, and vice. Observation furnishes vivid illustrations which appeal to the imagination, while statistics enforce the lessons of general laws. In all cities and in every country the authorities report the same effects from similar conditions. Men are made feeble and poor because of evil domestic conditions. The crowding of buildings shuts out air and light, essentials of health. Decaying particles of organic matter are with difficulty disinfected, since ventilation and sunshine are necessary to kill germs of disease. The atmosphere which people breathe is corrupted by the inmates, and cannot be renewed with sufficient rapidity to meet the demands of health. Darkness of interior



rooms is depressing to the spirit, and depression of spirit causes loss of vitality, power of endurance and resistance, and appetite for stimulants rises with inevitable certainty. Earning power is diminished; and slender income is an inducement to select living rooms at still lower rent, still less fit for human habitation.

Crowding, absence of privacy, sub-renting to boarders, lead to sexual vice and excess, illegitimate births, disregard for family honor and child life, contempt for moral judgments of society, disease, weakness, intoxicants, beggary, death. The friction and conflict of enforced communism lead to crime, and a communistic sentiment thrives in the social state which easily adjusts itself to pilfering or resorts to charity.

In the first ward of New York City the death rate, that thermometer of vitality, in houses standing singly on the lot, was 29.03 to each thousand of the living, and where there were rear houses the rate rose to 61.97. The infant death rate rose from 109.58 in single tenements of the same ward to 204.54 where there were rear houses.

Rarely are bathing facilities provided in such habitations. Filthy habits are natural under such circumstances. The Jews are quite as crowded in New York City as others, but their rate of mortality is lower, because their religious and social code requires them to be moderate in the use of alcohol, to use only inspected food, and to wash their bodies, rooms, and garments at definite times.

Unfavorable Industrial Conditions. — The literature of the labor question is crowded with pictures and facts which demonstrate the tendency of defective arrangements of industry to reduce laborers to weakness and want.

We may follow the effects of accidents in the reduced status of the family. The workmen on railroads are daily and hourly exposed to unusual danger from the movements of trains. If the corporation has no system of insurance of employees, or if the trade union funds are low, then man, wife, and children are plunged into distress. Miners, quarrymen, sailors, coast fisher-



men, powder makers, belong to crafts which must be regarded as extra hazardous.

It is easy to cite occupations injurious to health. In some instances the work place is filled with corrosive fumes, which attack throat, lungs, and eyes, and in other shops the dust-laden air is charged with irritating particles or fiendish bacteria. Inspectors report tin can factories where acids eat through shoes and clothing, causing sores, and volatile gases inflame the lungs. Men employed in digging drains, canals, and ditches in malarial regions lose health and means in long illness. The dust which rises from hackling flax affects the strongest, so that, without protective appliances, they can live but few years. Those who work with emery powder sometimes die in a month. Poisonous paints used in the manufacture of wall paper produce sores, blindness, and paralysis. "Painters' colic" brings workmen to sickness and want. In bleaching rooms chlorine gas chokes and burns. The fumes of phosphorus used in making matches cause the teeth to fall out.

Both in Europe and America the evil effects of employing women in unsuitable places, long hours, and at improper tasks have engaged the attention of philanthropists and statesmen. The employment of married women away from home tends to introduce defective cooking and housekeeping, while their toil at home becomes "sweating," and the residence becomes a crowded and dirty shop. Mothers suffer from the excessive strain of factory toil, and their offspring, ill-nourished and neglected, grow up rickety, feeble, inefficient, even if they survive infancy.

Young children, compelled by poverty to rise early and labor all day with adults in the close air of factories, are sure to be dwarfed in stature, feeble in lung and heart force, nerveless, and prematurely broken. The effects of such early taxing of the growing child have been so marked and serious in all modern countries that factory laws have been framed to restrict and repress it.

Irregular employment has a demoralizing effect on the habits of



working-people. Those who are forced to be idle at intervals afterward take the habits of vacant days, the loitering, drinking, and indolence, into the busy months. Habits are tyrants, and the way to voluntary shiftlessness is prepared by involuntary idleness.

Sickness and shortening of life are found in higher degree in occupations and grades of labor where wages are excessively low and irregular. The explanation is complex. Men are hired at low wages because their earning power is inferior, because they are under the average in body and mind. The inadequate income provides insufficient food, clothing, and shelter. Physical energy is reduced, children are untaught. The symbol of this vicious circle of cause and effect is the serpent with his tail in his mouth. One finds it difficult to find a beginning, and there is no end, save in extinction of the family.

The merchants, bankers, and manufacturers view a season of depression and suspension with anxiety, and they trim their sails to avoid disaster; but the unskilled laborer must take the full force of the storm which follows over-speculation in his little boat, without power to reach safe harbor. To one a crisis means loss of capital; to the other, despair.

Society is always partly responsible for the existence of paupers and criminals, and pays a heavy bill for their support. The primary condition of general economic prosperity is security of life and property. Feeble and boneless governors and mayors, demagogues in place of authority, encourage lawless riot until suspension of trade involves thousands in misery. Until society can learn, perhaps of little New Zealand, a method of peaceful arbitration of labor disputes before lawful tribunals, the present private warfare of employers and employees will go on, the weapon of the capitalist managers being starvation, and that of the workmen, brutal violence. Purely repressive use of law is not worthy of a great commonwealth.

3. Defects in Education. — The common schools are one of the chief barriers against pauperism and crime, but they are not

yet as effective as they can be made. In the absence of adequate physical examinations by physicians, many poor children grow up with decayed teeth, imperfect eyesight and hearing, and with various diseases which medical men could correct if they were called in at the right time. The skill which modern industry demands could be promoted in a higher degree and on a wider scale during the plastic years of childhood, if the literary instruction were correlated with sloyd and manual training methods already in use in the more advanced institutions. Suitable instruction in relation to the care of the body, food, drink, bathing, would secure the efficiency and prolong the lives of multitudes. Playgrounds about city schools are sadly lacking, and the boys are thrown upon the streets for amusement, only to be driven to violation of ordinances. Neglect of such matters is one of the aggravating causes of pauperism.

An instructive illustration of the pauperizing influence of public institutions, carelessly administered, is given in the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York. "A West Indian negro, who is quite capable of supporting his family, left them to their own resources, with the result that at least one of the children has been committed as a public charge. The father, whose whereabouts were unknown for a time, has been located as a student in a university in a neighboring state, the president of which writes concerning this student: 'He is in our sophomore class. He is diligent and successful in his studies. We regard him as a very reliable and promising man. He appears to be under the control of good principles, and we are glad to cherish toward him a growing confidence.'"

4. Immigration of Defectives. — This is not an original cause of dependency. But the importation of the insane, the beggar, the feeble minded does increase the burden of a land which has so long been the refuge of the oppressed. The evil was noted even during the colonial times, and was resisted from those days before our independence. That is not a recent development of



a form of pseudo-philanthropy, which relieves the old country by sending the inmates of almshouses and prisons to the new country. It has been estimated that the foreign population has, directly and indirectly, contributed nearly three fifths of the inmates of almshouses in the United States.

Immigration increases dependence in several ways. The excessive influx of unskilled laborers, at certain congested points, even if they are of good character, presses the workingmen to the wall by direct competition. A gentle rain, long continued, will enrich the meadow, while a flood after a stormburst will ruin the soil with gullies and sand. If the immigrants have a low standard of life and wages, their competition is all the more severe. The families which had reached a tolerable social condition are depressed and discouraged. The efforts of trade unions to secure advance are rendered nugatory. But many immigrants have been unfit even for competition, and have almost at once placed themselves as burdens on private and public charity.

5. Reflection. — This discussion of general causes of depression might be carried back indefinitely even to the beginnings of human life. Indeed, we have already marked the unity of all life, the flow of general forces revealed by natural science. But the attempt to trace effects to causes has an important bearing on our attitude to social responsibility. If we are just in thought and feeling, we shall take account of the pressure of the powers of nature, the institutions of men, and the customs and laws which shape our individual lives outside our wills. The consideration of social causes, set up by human action, leads to hope; for if man has made evil institutions he can destroy them and replace them with better. The fatalism of despair and neglect will not appear reasonable. Such broad and comprehensive views of causation will modify and chasten hasty, rash, and superficial optimism, which rushes into revolutions without considering the depth to which the roots of misery and degradation have sunk in the soil of history.



PART II.

Social Organization for the Relief and Care of Dependents.

We pass at this point from the theoretical or explanatory discussion to a consideration of the practical social arrangements for dealing with persons who are in some degree a charge upon the commonwealth.

CHAPTER I.

DIRECTIVE AIMS OF PHILANTHROPY.

1. The End. — Following the wise statesman, Aristotle, we seek for the ends which determine the means. Modern systems of relief aim to promote the real welfare of dependents and also of the living and coming race. This aim is not always consciously before the mind, and it is frequently obscured by sentimentalism, impulsive sympathy, and fear, in the presence of suffering. But the tendency of reflective thought is in this direction.

2. Forms of Organization. — There are three classes of philanthropic organization. In the first class we place those movements and institutions which seek to further the well being of the entire group of unskilled workers, industrials of meagre income. Examples are found in the associations and boards for the improvement of sanitation and housing in the crowded parts of cities, better school accommodations for the poor, popular schemes of insurance, and the penny savings banks. In a second class we mention such agencies as the clubs for working girls, friendly



visiting, rent collecting, and home libraries, whose distinct function is to anticipate trouble in the case of particular families or groups. And, again, we may set in a distinct place the measures taken for direct material relief of those already dependent.

3. The Grounds which Justify and Require Relief of the Indigent. — Much charity flows from a race instinct of sympathy. This is the special mark of charity which responds to the sight of suffering or to vivid appeals which visualize pain or deprivation. It seems probable that this race instinct, like the maternal instinct which is born with the child, is a condition of survival. A nation which did not respond to suffering with help would die out. Think of the hardening of feeling toward children which would come upon a people which did not care for the destitute. All men need help at times, even the millionaire before he gets his teeth and after he loses them. Many of the most vigorous and useful citizens have been, at certain hours of life, utterly dependent on strangers for health and life. This instinctive sympathy is the nature basis of the ethical demand for charity, — part of our moral view of the world. We cannot "prove" its claim to one who has no corresponding disposition of benevolence; and, on the other hand, the cruel and selfish have no logical weapons that avail against it. But a consideration of the conditions necessary to race survival and progress may be part of the reasoned ground of charity.

Reasoned charity grows out of the intellectual effort to account for the instinct, and trace its origin and course in social experience, and to justify it by showing its relation to the common welfare. Reasoning charity is enforced by social teaching and respect for goodness. Religious arguments sanction the sense of duty, and a great part of Jewish and Christian instruction tends to benevolence. Charity, being socially useful and admired, is sometimes counterfeited. Social consideration, political ambition, even mercantile enterprise, become secondary incentives to giving relief, though they do not deserve the title of charity.

The basis of public relief is partly the race instinct of sym-

pathy, partly reasoned benevolence, religious belief and ethical philosophy, partly a deliberate measure of social protection, partly a socialized form of mutual insurance against misfortune and accidental misery, to whose fund all citizens contribute, and by which all who need are entitled to profit. The motive is always complex, and various partial statements can be cited from different writers. Spinoza said: "A private man's wealth is no match for such a demand. Also, a single man's opportunities are too narrow for him to contract friendship with all. Wherefore, providing for the poor is a duty that falls on the whole community, and has regard only to the common interest." The economist, J. S. Mill, wrote: "It will be admitted to be right that human beings should help one another, and the more so in proportion to the urgency of the need; and none need help so urgently as one who is starving. . . . The claim to help, therefore, created by destitution, is one of the strongest which can exist, and there is *prima facie* the amplest reason for making the relief of so extreme an exigency as certain to those who require it as by any arrangements of society it can be made."

The basis of legal relief by the state is sometimes laid in the benevolence or humanity of society, which finds expression in official care. "Every society upon arriving at a certain stage of civilization finds it positively necessary for its own sake, that is to say, for the satisfaction of its own humanity, and for the due performance of the purposes for which society exists, to provide that no person, no matter what has been his life, or what may be the consequences, shall perish for want of the bare necessaries of existence" (Fowle, "The Poor Law," p. 10).

"Is state relief charity?" It is sometimes urged that money raised by compulsory tax cannot be called benevolence. This is only in part true. All depends on individual motive. Of course those citizens who pay the tax grudgingly can lay no claim to the title of benevolent, because of their enforced gifts. But there is unquestionably a diffused sentiment of humanity in a community which votes taxes for such purposes. Those who



favor an entirely voluntary method of raising funds for poor relief must admit that even personal contributions to the relief of distress are sometimes drawn out, as teeth are, with much inward pain and protest from the flesh. One may even go farther, and say, with Dr. Nathan Allen, "The instances where individuals give liberally of their substance for this purpose afford noble examples of benevolence and philanthropy; but when, by wise and humane legislation, great numbers are relieved in the best possible manner, too, it shows, in the aggregate, a higher state of humanity and morality."

Admitting that relief of the weak is a duty of the community, must we conclude that this duty can be discharged only in one way and by one agency, the government? Society is more than state, and government is not the only social organization. All that follows from the admission of a social duty is that the community is morally bound to use the most suitable and efficient means. By experience and study we learn whether voluntary or political agencies, or both combined, are best.

There is a theory of public relief based on a doctrine of state insurance against extreme need, a guarantee of the commonwealth to all citizens that they may of right share in the provisions of law when urged by necessity. Thus Dr. F. H. Wines says, "The hospitals [of Illinios] are entirely free; there is no charge to any individual, on the ground that when a taxpayer pays his tax to maintain the institution, he is entitled to the benefits of the institution if the occasion ever arises." This view assumes that the government is more than a mere police force to keep order, and that it is an organ of society for the convenience of all the people whose creature government is. This is not paternalism, for government is not a benevolent lord or father, above and alien to the people, but simply the instrument of public reason and will.

Nicholls, in his "History of the English Poor Law," quotes a passage from Babbage, which involves a different idea, but not inconsistent with the other: "Whenever, for the purposes of gov-



ernment, we arrive, in a state of society, at a class so miserable as to be in want of the common necessaries of life, a new principle comes into action. The usual restraints which are sufficient for the well fed are often useless in checking the demands of empty stomachs. Other and more powerful means must then be employed; a larger array of military or police force must be maintained. Under such circumstances, it may be considerably cheaper to fill empty stomachs to the point of ready obedience, than to compel starving wretches to respect the roast beef of their more industrious neighbors; and it may be expedient, in a mere economical point of view, to supply gratuitously the wants even of able bodied persons, if it can be done without creating crowds of additional applicants." Sir Matthew Hale is quoted as declaring the relief of the poor to be an act of great civil prudence and wisdom.

And Nicholls concludes, "It is, accordingly, an admitted maxim of social policy, that the first charge on land must be the maintenance of the people reared upon it."

Granting that it is a social duty to give public relief, does it follow that the indigent have a right to lay a claim upon society? Theoretically, this question presents delicate points for the moralist and statesman. Advocates of exclusively voluntary charity urge strongly that the admission of such a right is socially dangerous.

Practically, society, by admitting the legal obligation, makes the indigent secure as with the certainty of law. If a pauper institute legal proceedings to enforce his assumed rights, he must still confront the legal condition, show that he is dependent, and he must submit to the discipline of an administration designed to prevent abuse. It is not the private, individual, and prejudiced opinion of the pauper which defines his rights, but the declaration of the statutes.

Another point of more than speculative interest is: Does the obligation of support extend farther than to those actually living? It is a social duty, we admit, to protect every citizen, without



regard to character, from extreme misery and death. But no one can rationally support the claim that society is bound to support those who are in danger of propagating defect, under circumstances which make such propagation certain. As soon as a person becomes dependent and casts himself upon the charity of the community, from that moment the law may fix the terms on which aid may be granted. Assistance may be supplied in a workhouse or isolated asylum; and thus society gains control over the defective person and is able to prevent the further continuance of the family stock which has begun to bear such noxious offspring.

4. Principles of the Poor Laws of the United States. — The regulations of legal relief adopted by the American colonies previous to the Revolution were naturally borrowed from those of the mother country. For this reason a complete understanding of the forms and expressions of our law would require a careful analysis of the English laws, especially as they stood in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The laws of the states more recently formed were largely imitations of those of the older communities of the Atlantic coast, with many special adaptations to the more primitive conditions of pioneer life. The later developments took a more independent course, with great variety, not to say contradiction and confusion, in working out details. That conservatism which characterizes all law has consecrated and embalmed many of the evils which England herself has long since thrown off by reforms.

The poor laws in our country do not emanate from the supreme legislation of Congress, but from the legislatures of the several commonwealths. Congress regulates public relief in the District of Columbia, but does not have power to interfere with local administration. There is no such centralizing agency as we find in the English Home Office. Uniformity is impossible, save as it is secured by discussion and conference. There are some advantages in having many experiments going on at the same time, and under similar conditions. We may hope that agree-

ment will be reached, so far as it is desirable, and that the peculiar wants of each district will thus be met.

A fundamental regulative principle of all legislation on the subject was admirably stated in the famous report of the English Commission which formulated the reforms of the third decade of the nineteenth century: "The fundamental principle with respect to the relief of the poor is, that the condition of the pauper ought to be, on the whole, less eligible than that of the independent laborer. The equity and expediency of this principle are equally obvious. Unless the condition of the pauper is, on the whole, less eligible than that of the independent laborer, the law destroys the strongest motives to good conduct, steady industry, providence, and frugality among the laboring classes, and induces persons, by idleness or imposture, to throw themselves on the poor rates for support. But if the independent laborer sees that recurrence to the poor rates will, while it protects him from destitution, place him in a less eligible position than that which he can attain to by his own industry, he is left to the undisturbed influence of all those motives which prompt mankind to exertion, forethought, and self-denial. On the other hand, the pauper has no just ground for complaint if, at the same time that his physical wants are amply provided for, his condition should be less eligible than that of the poorest class of those who contribute to his support."

This statement is sound so far as it goes; but the independent laborer has little to hope from a theory which is purely negative, and creates an inequality by merely lowering the level of pauper subsistence without positively helping the laborer who is willing to work to gain a position worthy of a human being. This defect has been in part supplied by legislation favorable to the improvement of the lot of the wage-working multitude; and the process is still going forward.

5. Principal Provisions. — The law provides for the definition of the claims of recipients, those who may receive public aid. The law of settlement determines the rights of resident depend-



ents. They often prescribe the conditions under which non-residents may be aided in case of need.

The law provides for the supply of means of relief, as by tax levy, collection of licenses, and control of extraordinary income, as from fines or legacies. The main source of income for the purpose is taxation.

The law provides for and regulates the official agencies of relief, as county or town officers; and the treatment of particular classes of dependents.

The law defines the responsible political unit, as state, county, or town, and the duty of each in relation to special classes of cases.

As we come to deal with particular institutions the legal provisions specially applicable will be discussed; but the student is advised to make a careful analysis of the provisions of the poor law of his own state, relating to all the subjects considered in this Part.



CHAPTER II.

THE PUBLIC BUDGET AND POOR RELIEF.

BEFORE legal relief can be distributed it must be provided for in the public treasury. Hence the budget is of primary importance. The economists treat this subject under the head of public finance, since the burden must be borne by taxation. It is also a form of distribution of the product of social labor and capital, and dependents share this product with capitalists, managers, land owners, and wage-earners.

1. The Social Justification for this form of expenditure has been stated in the reasons given for community aid to the indigent citizen. The protection of society from the spread of a moral disease is regarded as a proper function of government, and the expense of such protection is a legitimate burden.

2. Sources of Funds. — In the United States the means of relief are derived chiefly from a general fund raised by taxation, or by a special poor rate. The earnings of institutions have some importance. In the case of many rural county poorfarms, especially in the mild climate of the South, and where there are some fairly strong paupers, the earnings nearly, or quite, pay the current expenses, after the land and buildings are provided. It is claimed that colonies of epileptics, and perhaps of the feeble-minded, may be so managed as to meet current cost by earnings and product.

3. The Adjustment of the Burden. — The underlying principle regulative of this matter is: Responsibility should be brought home as nearly as possible. Legislation usually recognizes this principle. First of all, the dependent himself is placed under powerful inducements to put forth his full power of self support,



and relief is kept back if he refuses to work. The members of a family are primarily held responsible for each other, so long as they have ability to help; and they have many motives of interest and affection to perform this duty. If the family cannot carry the burden, the law holds the local neighborhood bound. Since each citizen may be supposed, normally, to contribute to the wealth of a place by his labor, that place should care for him in his distress. The neighbors of a man know him best, and can detect deceit better than strangers; and in a small district citizens are most watchful to prevent any policy of partiality or extravagance on the part of the officials.

But there are limits to the power of a small district, and the time comes when the need can be met only by coöperation of the people of a large territory, as a county or state. It happens that a community may be too small and poor to carry its load, especially if there are many dependents calling for aid. The township may require the help of the county, for example, when an institution is to be erected.

Local authorities are often too parsimonious, or, with the best intentions of benevolence, are wanting in knowledge and skill. Thus they may neglect to provide suitable medical care and nursing for the sick, and suitable housing and watching for the insane.

Of certain classes of dependents, the defectives, there are not enough to justify the expense of a separate institution in each township. The insane, blind, feeble-minded, epileptics, of the whole state are, therefore, provided for in state institutions, the locality sharing the burden in proportion to its wealth. A county provides a poorhouse on this principle, and each commonwealth has its own charitable establishments for particular classes.

4. Dangers of Inadequate State Provision. — Frequently the legislature has established costly and splendid institutions for certain classes of dependents, as the insane, and then neglected to build enough edifices to accommodate all who require care. The result has been that, while a few have enjoyed extravagant

homes, many others, just as deserving, have been shut up in [illegible] institutions, or even jails. Thousands of applicants are kept waiting because the institutions are already crowded, and much relief is in great suffering.

5. **The Care of Dependents without Settlement.** — The law provides for the relief of all the indigent at the place where the need arises. Removal is not permitted in case of illness and feebleness, where the health or life of the person would be in peril. This principle is now generally recognized, and sometimes explicitly stated in the law. Who, finally, will pay the cost of such cases? This question meets different answers in different communities. One method is to permit the town or county where the person made appeal for aid to pay for strangers as well as for residents, and this is more customary in the newer states. In some states the local authorities are empowered to collect from the town where the pauper has a residence. In case of persons without local claims, the state assumes the expense and pays the sum out of a common fund.

6. **The Administration of Funds** is in the hands of elected or appointed boards or officers of state, county, township, or town, according to the system in vogue. The board of trustees, commissioners, or directors usually appoint a clerk to keep accounts of all receipts, orders, and expenditures. Township trustees report to county authorities. Publication of accounts, without the names of beneficiaries, is sometimes required. There is great need for the control of forms and reports by a state board of charities, and where such boards exist they inspect the books and budgets of state institutions. The local accounts of relief are frequently so mixed up with other matters, as roads and schools, that expenditures for poor relief cannot be separated and the amount of this burden made known.

7. **Prospects of this Item in the Budget.** — There is at present, and will be for some time to come, a great increase of cost in meeting the higher demands of scientific and humane penology and relief. But as the agencies become more effective in limit-



ing defect and crime, and especially as the material and moral conditions of city life are improved, the cost will diminish.

Writers on finance have a right to a hearing on the best methods of economic administration of such funds; and from this standpoint there is general agreement on the principle, elsewhere advocated on grounds of advantage to the poor themselves, that there should be as much local direction and management as possible, but with such central state supervision and control as will check dishonesty and promote intelligence in method.



CHAPTER III.

OUTDOOR LEGAL RELIEF.

1. Definition. — The phrase "outdoor legal relief" is here used to signify the assistance given to dependent persons or families in their own homes, out of means provided by taxation, administered by public officials. There is also "outdoor private relief," which is given by voluntary benevolent associations. Medical aid is quite generally given in close connection with other outdoor relief, but this will be specially considered under the head of medical charity. In Massachusetts the term "outdoor relief" is applied to help given by the state to the poor who have no local settlement; and these are frequently found in hospitals and other institutions. In England the outdoor poor are all those who are not in almshouses or workhouses, and may include insane persons in asylums. Confusion will be avoided by keeping these different uses of the phrase in mind in the reading of the documents and discussions relating to this subject.

2. Statistics. — There is special necessity of calling attention to the very imperfect state of statistics of outdoor relief in the United States.

There is no question about the value of enumerations, if they could be obtained. We know social facts completely only when we can measure them. In the case of outdoor relief the social interest is vast and complex. We do not know whether pauperism is increasing or decreasing, whether our methods are promoting thrift or degrading the poor, whether our benevolence is beneficent or maleficent. A future field of martyrdom is this life-long pursuit of data for scientific conclusions. Nothing requires more self-denial, more willingness to sink self out of



sight, and coöperate with fellow-workers for a useful result, without glory or brilliant attractions. It is so much easier, especially for persons of active and sympathetic natures, to paint in golden rhetoric than to compare figures and tables and manipulate schedules. Happily some good people are born mathematicians.

As the case stands at present, no help whatever can be derived from the census reports of the federal government. The census of 1880 did furnish a little fragmentary information, but the tables were so misleading that in 1890 no attempt to present statistics was made.

Our only reliable sources are the reports of those few states whose boards gather up returns from county and town administrators.

The returns from local administrators ought to cover such points as these: name, sex, religious confession, birthday, birthplace, calling, family status (single, married, widow, legally divorced, living apart, deserted), number of dependent persons in the household, place of pauper settlement, date when the person began to live there, aid given during the year (outdoor, indoor, cash, or goods), causes of need, way of gaining settlement (residence, marriage, descent).

The Charity Organization Societies are collecting information on forms of schedules fairly uniform, which will be considered later. In states where the township trustee is required to send to the secretary of the state board, at regular intervals, a duplicate of his record of each case, a broad and reliable basis is laid for a complete census in the future.

The reasons for the imperfect condition of national statistics lie in the defects of the original records. No schedules of individual cases are made and sent to a central bureau for compilation and comparison; and it is impossible to find paupers by sending investigators from door to door to ask for the instances of public relief. Even if we had all official records, there would remain unknown the vast sum spent by associations and individuals on private outdoor relief.

Estimates for the whole country based on figures from states

which have statistics are unreliable guesses. The tables we possess have been made chiefly in the Northern states, where outdoor legal relief is much more common and heavy than it is in the South. Even in the North it is not safe to make the ratio in one district the basis for an estimate in others.

In spite of these imperfections the study of state reports will reward the effort, and important lessons can be learned. When the trustees of one township succeed in reducing the public burden and restoring many paupers to honorable self support, their success will appear in the figures of their reports, and will be used to stimulate other officials to study and imitate their methods. Legislators are guided in their duties by such exhibits, and public judgments are made more definite and just. The example of one state induces others to follow its wise course, and in years to come we have reason to hope for reliable data.

3. Laws. — While each commonwealth has its own code, there are certain general principles and tendencies which mark the course of legislation. For example, the obligation of relatives to support their own who fall into distress is generally recognized. The parent must care for the minor child, and mature children are obliged to assist indigent parents. Sometimes the family obligation extends to grandparents or grandchildren, to brothers and sisters. The amount of aid may be fixed by law or left to the discretion of courts. The relieving officer is required to enforce this obligation through the judicial body. There are limitations in the application of this principle. Relatives living in another state cannot be reached. Married sisters are sometimes exempted. The obligation may cease in case of vice, drunkenness, or other serious misconduct.

4. Territorial Systems. — The county is the responsible unit in most parts of the Union. The town is the most common unit in New England, the state having care of those who have no local claims for assistance. In some states the township gives outdoor relief and the county cares for those who require indoor support. Occasionally the township system obtains in part of



the state and the county system in other parts, with provision for change from one method to the other by popular vote or by other legal action. The municipality frequently has a system of relief separate from that of the county in which it is situated.

Authority is vested in county or township officials, according to the system adopted. The titles and duties of public almoners, modes of election or appointment, vary greatly, and there is nothing like uniformity.

5. Rules of Administration. — The principle that outdoor relief shall be temporary and furnish only partial support is generally implied if not expressed. The rate of relief is sometimes fixed by law, but is usually left to the decision and judgment of the local officer. Administrative rules are occasionally found in the poor law, but ordinarily the details of application are governed by the discretion of the officials. Recent legislation tends to greater regulation, but rather through central supervision than through petty rules.

There is a tendency to provide for soldiers and sailors, in addition to federal pensions, by outdoor relief, rather than by sending to the poorhouse. It is imagined that this will diminish the humiliation of applicants of this class, but practically it compels them to rank themselves with paupers.

Medical relief, the services of a physician and supply of medicines, is closely connected with outdoor relief.

In general it may be said that the law is seriously at fault in committing this serious and difficult business to men who serve for short terms, and who are charged with many other duties, and very frequently the almoner is not elected with any particular reference to this special function. In trying to do many things one or all must suffer.

6. The Proposition to Abolish all Legal Outdoor Relief. — Both in Europe and America there has long been a large party in favor of placing this function entirely in the charge of individual and other voluntary benevolence. Some of the objections to outdoor legal relief are based on general principles, and bear against all



kinds of state aid to dependents. These matters of ethical theory, political principle, and governmental function have already been considered.

Many advocates of voluntary charity, however, accept state aid of some classes of the indigent, while they reject outdoor legal relief on grounds of expediency. Public indoor relief may seem to be wise, while outdoor relief by government may seem hurtful to society. In this case the objection is not based on the broad principle that state aid is wrong, but only that certain forms of it are unwise. Thus it becomes simply a question of the best method. Chalmers, for example, argued that there is no social peril in establishing, at public cost, institutions for the blind, the insane, the crippled, the sick, because men are not tempted to qualify, by their own choice, for such aid. Few men will cut off a leg in order to get into a poorhouse, or take the smallpox to enjoy the gratuitous advantages of a pest-house. But candidacy for sharing the fund given to families is furthered simply by being negligent, lazy, drunken, vicious, and so incapable of supporting wife and children. Hence the greater peril of offering to aid all the indigent, while permitting them to enjoy freedom and dispose of their time as they choose.

The friends of the purely voluntary system affirm that legal relief in homes is unnecessary because private charity would meet the needs of every case if it were known that taxation for this purpose had ceased, and if those in distress could not look for aid to a public treasury. It is affirmed that official relief is costly, since those who administer it do not feel the sacrifice of giving. It is easy to be liberal to the poor at public expense. It is argued that official systems invite political corruption by placing in the hands of politicians a fund for bribing hungry and venal voters. The too common spectacle of carriages full of half-demented paupers carried to the polls by the petty agents of political parties is not edifying nor encouraging. The handling of the fund is a temptation, and the office of trustee is sought for its financial and partisan advantages.



The system tends to separate the poor from the successful, and reduces the social bond to the single strand of state alms through a hired agent. This relation is apt to become one of hardness, suspicion, and distrust. The investigators make hasty and inquisitorial visits to the homes of the indigent, and there is no time, even if there is a desire, to cultivate friendly and helpful relations. The coöperation of voluntary visitors in the United States is not often encouraged, and may be resented as intrusion. In such a situation the poor are cut off from real social sympathy by the very institution erected by public charity. The system tends to extinguish benevolence in the rich and gratitude in the dependent. Those who cease to consider the poor cease to care for them. Sympathy does not thrive without exercise on personal objects, and charity becomes atrophied through disuse.

The system fosters communistic sentiments, and educates the poor through habitual reception of help to regard the public fund as the natural source of livelihood, when, through idleness or vice, they want resources of their own. It thus tends to excite hostility to government, for legal relief awakens hopes so vast that no government can satisfy them.

It tends to lower wages, since the assisted pauper is enabled to give his services at a lower rate than one who provides for his family entirely by his own unassisted efforts. This is especially true where outdoor relief is carelessly and lavishly given. It demoralizes and pauperizes the poor, by educating them to depend on the community rather than on their own energy, foresight, and economy. The desire to obtain income without work is contagious, and travels along streets by force of rumor and example.

Public agencies, as we know them, cannot individualize, and one of the fundamental principles of relief is that each person should be studied carefully and treated according to the peculiarities of his situation and character. This is manifestly impossible when, as in most cities, a few salaried investigators, in the hurry and press of winter distress, hasten from house to house,

unable to give more than superficial attention to any one family. This necessity of haste breeds a harsh, abrupt, and unsympathetic manner; perhaps businesslike, but absolutely lacking in personal benevolence.

There are peculiar perils in the county system, since it is impossible to know the circumstances of families living in parts of the region at a distance from the central town. Township officials are much more apt to be acquainted with the conditions and habits of beneficiaries.

The practice of disbursing relief by orders on stores for food and other supplies is open to grave abuses, since the orders may be exchanged for drink or luxuries, even while necessities are procured by begging. The coal furnished by contractors is frequently of inferior quality, and there is theft from both the pauper and the public.

Urban outdoor relief, especially in the present state of municipal government in America, is even more dangerous than rural relief, owing to the inefficiency and corruption of officials under the spoils system, to the extreme difficulty of investigation of individual cases in crowded city quarters, and to the aggravation of the tendency to pauperize entire districts by contagion of example. Each family thinks itself just as much entitled to a share of public funds as those who first receive aid.

7. Arguments in Favor of the System of Outdoor Legal Relief. — The advocates of the historic English method employ the following arguments. The duty of caring for the poor of a community rests upon all, and its burden should be shared by all. This is impossible under the purely voluntary system, where the avaricious escape and the liberal are doubly burdened. Under a system of taxation each citizen, except the dodgers of taxes, contributes according to his wealth and ability. The agents of the state, being clothed with legal authority, are in a better position to prevent imposition and deception than private citizens. It is said to be an advantage to include the charities of the people in one harmonious and complete system, in order to secure effi-



ciency and economy. The almshouse supplements the township trustees, and these alternatives should be controlled by one set of officers who are clothed with legal powers.

In times of great public misfortunes private charity fails to supply adequate relief. The burden is too heavy to be borne by those who offer aid voluntarily.

It is thought that vagrants cannot be managed by private agencies, but must be under police supervision; and this cannot obey the directions of private parties. Private charity is too fitful and irresponsible for the steady and heavy drains made by the mass of pauperism; hence public outdoor relief is necessary if the state is to make reliable provision for its citizens. If it is said that paupers should be offered the poorhouse in case of their appeal to the public for aid, and that they dislike this mode of relief, the reply would be, from the standpoint of those who prefer legal methods, that it would be impossible to build enough poorhouses to shelter all the poor, and that if enough of them could be provided for winter they would be dead capital during the rest of the year, since most dependents require only partial support in the seasons of stress.

It is claimed that, in consequence of the failure of system in voluntary charity, there would be a vast increase of indiscriminate almsgiving and consequent vagrancy, since beggars would assert that their necessities were not met. Outdoor relief enables the members of a family to share in self support, whereas if they were shut up in poorhouses they could not go about to seek employment. For these same reasons the partial support given by relatives and friends would cease. Outdoor relief is better than indoor relief because it keeps families together and is not so disgraceful as residence in an almshouse. Friends of the legal method declare that in Europe the charities of associations and churches have been utterly unable to meet the demands of modern life, in both Catholic and Protestant countries, and that there is a steady movement to extend the function of the state.

In reply to objections urged against the legal system, it is

affirmed that they are based chiefly on defects in the law and its administration, defects which can be remedied without giving up the principle.

8. **Conclusion.** — The system of outdoor legal relief is a general and permanent social fact, deeply fixed in laws, usages, traditions, and beliefs. The tendency of all modern nations is in the direction of enlarging rather than of diminishing government help to the poor. Practically we must deal with this fact, even if we dislike it and seek to effect a change. In spite of the strong and able protest of the Chalmers party, official relief has steadily grown in favor in Scotland. Since the reforms of 1834 pauperism has decreased in England, and there is no prospect of the system being abolished there, especially as the early prophecies of increase of pauperism have not been fulfilled. The German cities have developed an admirable system of family care, in which public and private agencies are happily united. Even France and Italy seem to be moving in the same direction. The modern wage-earning classes, whose votes must be counted on, are bitterly opposed to substituting the gifts of rich patrons for the system of public mutual insurance under democratic control.

Both forms are liable to abuse. Many of the abuses cited by advocates of private charity against legal systems have also marked voluntary systems. Defective administration of ecclesiastical bounty in Italy and France produced just such beggary and vagabondage as arose from defective public administration in England.

The worst evils are due more to the conditions and character of the people, to social forces, beliefs, standards, and industrial opportunities, than to any particular form of administering charity.

Thus we are driven to conclude that the practical question for the present is one of administration. We must direct our efforts chiefly to popularize the principles of correct and efficient methods. Even a bad law may be made to produce good results if



the administrators are capable, patriotic, and humane, while an excellent law may fail in incompetent and corrupt hands. What these principles of the best administration are we must now consider, and at the same time we shall bring to light standards which test the defects in our present system and its workings.



CHAPTER IV.

PRINCIPLES OF ADMINISTRATION OF RELIEF IN FAMILIES.

In this place we consider the administration of outdoor relief in general, whether by public or voluntary agencies. By principles is meant here practical working directions. We must repeat that they are not theoretical descriptions and explanations of facts based on the method of isolation or abstraction of a single motive, or on the method of complete historical description, all motives of concrete life being taken into account. Nor are these principles to be regarded as divine laws, mandates of supreme power and wisdom, absolutely fixing right and wrong. Nor are they legislative statutes, prescribing duties and enforcing edicts with penalties. Positively, they are simply practical directions, generally applicable to relief among modern peoples. As to their origin, they are derived from the experience and trials of all nations which have systems of relief under the economic order of free contract. They have gradually been formulated by men and women engaged in the administration of relief, as overseers, legislators, and commissioners of charity. They are verified as useful and valid by further experience in the light of criticism and discussion. The agreement of the competent is a sign that they are, presumably, the survivors after many contests in the competition of plans and ideas, although we must be careful not to adopt mere traditions which have no recommendation except their antiquity. Such principles are not substitutes for tact and judgment in administrators and visitors, who work with varying elements under changing conditions. No persons can by any possibility be adequately equipped for service in charity merely by committing these directions to memory. But the individual worker is under moral obligations to know and consider these



principles and not to set up his narrow experience, perhaps his conceit and prejudice, against methods recommended by the most competent thinkers, who are in positions favorable for observation and trial.

The statements here made must be aphoristic and suggestive in form, in contrast with a body of regulations which might be drawn up for a particular institution or restricted field.

1. First Problem; Investigation of the Individual Case. — Investigation is at the basis of all subsequent steps and measures, as the diagnosis of the physician precedes prescription of medicine or diet, as the examination of a student shows his place in a course of education. There are certain external signs of dependence which may serve as marks of classes and as evidences of presumption for or against relief. These marks relate to age, sex, domestic status, health, and economic condition. Those who are manifestly feeble and have no means of support may be presumed to need aid; while the able-bodied should be more closely investigated and tested. Neglected or deserted infants, or abandoned children of school age, deserted wives or widows with young children, the sick and feeble, invalids, deaf mutes, blind, epileptic, idiots, insane, bear marks which cannot be counterfeited. All cases must be fully studied, but these are most obviously suitable for immediate help.

The able-bodied may sometimes require assistance; as where sickness invades the home, where accident has interrupted household life, or where work and wages are insufficient to maintain existence. In emergency cases relief may be given, exceptionally, for a short time, without detailed investigation, as in case of accident, conflagration, childbirth, sudden insanity.

The Request. — The application of the poor is made to some individual, society, church, or public officer of relief, or may be brought to light by some person who visits among the poor. Investigation may be made by a paid agent or by a voluntary visitor. The process requires both tact and experience. At the office a form may be filled out by the applicant, stating

his side of the story. This is very useful, but is not sufficient. Investigation must be carried into the home. The appearance of the house, furniture, apparel, conduct, furnishes a clew to the situation. Deep destitution combined with an honest and pathetic effort to make the best of a sorry state and scant material may be disclosed.

Inquiry must be made in the neighborhood and among the acquaintances of the applicant. The physician, grocer, agents of societies, visitors, teachers, landlord, are sources of information. But this questioning must be conducted with care and wisdom in order to avoid injuring the reputation and prospects of the honest poor. The investigator must not attract attention by display, as by driving up to the house in a carriage or by public discussion of his object.

The Case Card. — A formula of questions will facilitate the investigation at each stage, and such a form is necessary in order to prevent overlooking of pertinent facts. The written record is necessary for the use of the office, for later visitors, and to aid memory. But this schedule should not be regarded as a substitute for personal impressions of a living observer, and should not be filled out from answers in a mechanical and unthinking way. No person is fit for this function who is devoid of sympathy, and who merely regards the examination as a means of discovering fraud, rather than as the best way to aid the poor.

2. Second Problem; Duration of Relief. — The distinction between temporary and continuous relief is of vital importance. In the case of a working-man who is temporarily ill a gift of a few dollars may be adequate; while an aged woman, friendless, destitute, and crippled, may require aid for many years. Relieving officers are subjectively affected by knowing that they have power to grant an order for an indefinite period. They become negligent in observation and care. Under the best systems of administration the visitors who give advice as to aid must revisit temporary cases once a fortnight, and this makes them alert. If trustees are required by law or rule to renew the order at frequent



intervals, on the basis of a fresh investigation, they are more inventive and act with fuller knowledge. The effect of an indefinite order on the recipient is to induce him to depend on alms, and he comes after a time to regard it as a pension, a debt due to him from the public. He does not seek work, and his foresight, economy, and energy are seriously impaired.

3. Third Problem; the Place of Relief. — The principles of administration of outdoor and indoor relief are not free from doubt and controversy. In some countries indoor relief is generally preferred, while in others outdoor relief is more highly esteemed. There is also great variety in the customs of different counties in the same state. The differences in practice relate more to the emphasis on one or the other than to fundamental disagreements. All countries use both methods, and in general for the same reasons, though by diverse local forms. All competent authorities agree that indoor relief is more suitable for the insane, the feeble-minded, the sick, and the friendless aged, and the reason lies in the unfitness of such persons for competitive life.

There is general agreement that institutions should be specialized, and that it is not wise to crowd all kinds of dependents into one institution, as the poorhouse. Children especially are out of place in mixed populations of paupers. The sick and invalids require medical care at home or in hospitals or asylums. Widows with young children should not be forced into an almshouse. Men who are disposed to work, even if able-bodied, should not be arbitrarily separated from their families and deprived of the opportunity to seek employment in freedom. Of course those who shirk labor should be turned over to a workhouse. The friendless old people should be provided for in suitable homes. The defectives are best cared for in appropriate schools or asylums.

4. Fourth Problem; the Form of Material Relief. — Is it best to give money or goods ready for consumption? The answer depends upon conditions. The common method in the United

States is to give relief "in kind," as food, fuel, clothing, medicines; or to issue orders on merchants for specified kinds and quantities of supplies. Occasionally the authorities keep stocks of the commodities to be distributed. Indoor relief is entirely in the form of goods ready for consumption and the accommodations of a home, since the resident of an almshouse enjoys all that ministers to the necessities of existence. Where the old custom of boarding out paupers among farmers still lingers, as the alternative of the poorhouse, the pauper is expected to earn all he can by his labor, and his wants are supplied. In rural districts it is easier to provide food, shelter, and fuel than to pay money, especially in private charity.

There are advantages to recipients, in certain situations, in receiving the exact commodities required. Where officials purchase goods at wholesale rates paupers may receive more for the nominal money value of the order, and it is easier to protect them from adulteration and shortage. It is not so easy for alcoholic paupers to exchange goods for drink and other luxuries, as it would be to exchange orders or cash payments. Where sudden calamity has reduced multitudes to destitution, as fire or flood, it is desirable that clothing and food should be at once supplied where the most essential provisions are not to be had for money.

But there are objections to relief in kind. It is entirely possible to exchange either orders or goods for drink and extravagant luxuries by direct trading or through the medium of a pawnbroker. In places where the food is prepared in public kitchens the poor are not pleased with the taste and quality of the cooking. People like their own accustomed varieties of bacterial ferments and their flavors. The poor should be taught to manage for themselves, and they ought not to be trained to neglect or forget the art of buying and economizing. In fact, poor women quite generally have learned by sharp experience to make the most of a small income, and frequently they know better than the officials just what is needed.



Relief in kind seems to be best where there is special reason to fear that men will use money to gratify a diseased craving for stimulants, or where the authorities are prepared to manage large stores of groceries or furniture. Private charity may properly supply dainty articles of diet for the sick, for cases of confinement, and special comforts for invalids.

5. Fifth Problem; the Amount of Material Relief. — Full support is not provided in the aid given families. The theory of outdoor relief is that it is partial and temporary aid for emergency, and not full maintenance. In some cities the average amount of public funds to each family is not over fifteen dollars a year, which is but a small fraction of what it costs to support a family.

Yet these poor people manage to live. By what means? Frequently by begging from charitable individuals, societies, and churches. Many work long hours at miserable wages, suffer from hunger, compete with unskilled labor in a crowded market for the chance to earn a pittance; and the results are seen in sickness and mortality, stunted growth, short life. The amount given should be sufficient to maintain health and industrial efficiency, to make vagrant begging unnecessary, and then require in return all the work of which the family is capable. It is useless to give an inadequate amount, for there is moral ruin in mendicancy and slow torture in starvation. The safe medium is difficult to find, but the physiological standard is already well known and serves as a guide. The first step toward fixing the amount of relief required is to discover what is necessary to prevent begging and to maintain industrial efficiency. This amount will vary with climate, season, size of family, and social surroundings. The earnings of the family and all other sources of income must be found and deducted.

The rate of relief cannot be fixed in advance by a statute, because local conditions vary so greatly; but a custom of the authorities of a place, who are acquainted with the situation, may serve for an outline. Manifestly no absolute rule can be drawn

up to cover all kinds of cases. Each family must be studied for its own sake. The almoners must be given some discretion, up to certain maximum limits, without which a vote of superior boards is requisite. The Elberfeld system includes the sagacious provision that no individual visitor can fix the amount, and a vote of the visitors in the district is necessary. The central principle of all poor laws finds application here: the person assisted at public expense should in no case be better off than free laborers who support themselves.

Public relief may properly be supplemented by private charity, and in each community there should be a friendly division of labor. Public relief should be confined to the essentials of existence, according to local standards of necessity. Private relief may take account of differences, and may supply comforts and luxuries. Private relief is especially valuable in new cases, where the family has not yet formed a habit of begging, and where a friendly interest and assistance may prevent them from sinking down into permanent dependence. A costly surgical operation, for which no public fund is provided, may restore a man to his occupation and to self-support. Tools and training furnished to a young man may add one person to the productive forces of the nation and avoid a series of degrading acts.

Public relief, being legal, must be impartial; it must help all who are in extreme destitution and cannot make distinctions even of character. Private relief may select a few, especially those who give reasonable promise of being self-reliant, or who, having been upright and industrious, have become temporarily or permanently helpless. Private relief will do more good if it selects a few suitable cases and helps them adequately, rather than attempt the impossible task of helping all by dispersing among them little doles, which accomplish no purpose whatever.

6. Sixth Problem; the Disposition and Distribution of the Material Means of Relief. — A wise rule is thus stated by Miss Richmond: "When relief is needed in a poor home, it should be given in the home without any publicity, and after conference



with the head of the family, who, if unable to provide the means of subsistence himself, is still responsible for procuring it. The man of the family, unless disabled, should do all the asking." Wives and children should not go to the office if it can be avoided. There should be no advertising of names in the newspapers. The applicants for relief should not be obliged to congregate and wait in a central public office, exposed to the gaze of a crowd of hungry and often vicious people. There should be no spectacular free distributions of bread and coal by missions or by merchants, glorifying the donors and damaging the poor.

The artisan is sometimes prevented from earning a living from lack of tools, although in this age of machines this danger is relatively small. Experience teaches caution in relation to the mode of supplying tools. The reason for not giving tools from public funds is that they may be attached by creditors; or, what is more likely, will be pawned for liquor, and the person will be worse off than before. Private persons or societies may with discretion safely lend tools, retaining ownership, and may even lend other forms of capital goods.

Pitiful as is the state of a family thrust out by constables, with their meagre effects huddled on the frozen sidewalk, officials of outdoor legal relief cannot engage to pay rent, for they would thereby become rent collectors of the bad debts of house owners. If the family has become so weak that it cannot pay rent, the relieving officers have no way to help except by opening the door of the poorhouse. Private charity can make exceptions and discriminations which are impossible for legal officers, and the payment of rent is sometimes the best form in which personal benevolence can come to the succor of distress.

7. Seventh Problem; Personal Ministration. — An essential feature of the German municipal system of public relief is that of the voluntary visitor, who becomes acquainted with the dependent family and aids it to become self-supporting. Our American system lacks this element almost entirely, and the defect is

a serious objection to our methods of outdoor legal relief. Many of our benevolent relief societies depend entirely on salaried agents, and do not cultivate the ministry of voluntary visitors. As this high and difficult social service is chiefly promoted by the Charity Organization Societies, we shall give it consideration in the chapter devoted to that subject.



CHAPTER V.

PUBLIC INDOOR RELIEF: THE POORHOUSE.

1. Scope. — In the widest sense indoor relief might include all methods of supporting and caring for dependents in institutions, hospitals, asylums, infirmaries, for all classes of the helpless. In this chapter we are to consider simply the almshouse of cities, counties, and towns, or states.

2. Need. — In the administration of private and public relief in homes, it is found that a large number of persons are personally infirm and without friends to watch over them, so that the requisite nursing and care cannot be given them. It is impossible to supply their wants in their habitations, even if they do not belong to the homeless class. An institution has been found necessary. The resources of outdoor relief are too slender to bear the strain of entire support extending through many months and years.

The poorhouse is disliked by most persons because it deprives them of liberty to move about and do what they like. This is especially true if the discipline of the establishment includes prohibition of vicious indulgence and enforcement of regular industry. Many persons who might be ready to receive outdoor relief will go to work, or look to relatives for aid, rather than submit to the restrictions and regulations of a house of industry. This repugnance ought not to be artificially increased by inhumane and cruel discipline, and all that is required for lazy and able-bodied beggars as a test of their sincerity is the offer of work and sound habits of daily life. That which is best for all is the severest punishment for a vagrant or malingerer.

3. History. — During the pioneer stage of life in this country, when population was scant and scattered, and government

was not fully organized, friendless and dependent persons found refuge in the voluntary help of neighbors, who were themselves struggling with the hardships of frontier conditions. Later the territorial and state legislatures authorized the local authorities to board out paupers among farmers; and as communities came to be more complex, and dependents increased in number, it was found difficult to secure proper care of feeble, broken, and disagreeable paupers, in families. Dependent children, orphans or neglected, were often bound out, and counties bought farm lands and erected poorhouses for all kinds of dependent persons, or made contracts with farmers to board them at an agreed rate, the paupers being obliged to work as they could. Into these receptacles of suffering people flowed all sorts of rejected material, the aged, the sick, the insane, forsaken children, inebriates, the blind, deaf mutes, the worn-out criminal and prostitute, the epileptic, the demented, and the paralytic. And as the poorhouse was the most unattractive place in the county, and the inmates were without influential friends, and the superintendent not always chosen for his special fitness for such an office, abominable abuses grew up, and in many places still continue.

4. The Law. — Outdoor relief is regarded as temporary and partial, and is not legally recognized in all states. In the Southern commonwealths indoor relief is much more generally legal. All states provide in some way for the permanent and regular support of those who have no homes or other resources.

The responsible authorities in charge of the poorhouse are those of the township, town, or county, according to the system in vogue. These trustees, commissioners, or selectmen, appoint a superintendent, fix salaries, and prescribe regulations and duties. The custom of leasing paupers to the lowest bidder is permitted still in some states, but in others is forbidden, and it is gradually passing away. The statutes rarely give minute directions for management, but leave these to the administrative officers. Separation of the sexes and requirement of labor are occasionally specified.

Admission is usually easily secured by certificate from one of the relieving officers or by act of the superintendent. With rare exceptions there are no statutory regulations of detention and discharge, even where the health and other interests of the community are seriously menaced.

The tendency at present is to define by statute the classes which may be received and those which must be refused admission. Thus it is often provided by law that dependent minors, of sound body and mind, are excluded, or detention is limited to a short period. The mentally and physically defective must remain unless provided for in a special institution. There are schools in most states for the education of the blind and of deaf mutes.

The laws provide for supervision of local poorhouses only in states where there are boards of charities. In a few instances the plans of new structures must have the approval of the state board.

Civil Privileges of Paupers. — The rule is that a person loses no rights by receiving public aid. Naturally he has little property to be affected. Only in eight states are paupers disfranchised, and in others the payment of a small tax gives the right of suffrage, and politicians can easily manage to raise money to pay that trifling sum, if anything is to be made by it. Frequently this voting pauper is even explicitly excused from certain burdensome duties, as working roads or paying taxes.

5. Conditions of Local Almshouses. — No general description can be given, as there are so many varieties of institutions in so large a country as ours. The following description of typical places in Illinois will serve for purposes of illustration: "The most common ideal is that of a county farmhouse, corresponding in its general style to the average farmhouses of the district in which it is situated, with, perhaps, a tendency to be a little below the average, in respect of convenience and comfort. In the larger counties there is ordinarily to be found upon the county farm a group of houses, and this is often the case in the smaller counties as well; one house, better than the rest, for

the family of the keeper, and the others for the use of male and female paupers and the insane, to each of whom separate buildings, where the number is sufficient to justify classification, are allotted. The life, in an almshouse of this description, is that of a family in the country, rather poorly clothed and fed, and bearing the marks of a listless poverty.

"Another type of almshouse is the hospital. The whole air of the establishment, the internal arrangement, the management, and discipline, resemble those of a well-organized, well-kept hospital proper, in which are collected not only the temporarily sick or disabled, but the permanently helpless and infirm, and no others. A flower garden blooms in front of the premises, a pest-house has been erected at some distance in the rear, and a thoroughly well planned, well built, and every way comfortable receptacle for the insane has been provided. The county judges visit the place daily, and it exhibits, in its entire aspect, the marks of thorough oversight and intelligent care.

"A third type is modelled after the idea of the state or public institution, with a large brick building or buildings, divided into centre and wings."

This is found in the neighborhood of cities. Extremes are met. The buildings are sometimes too mean for the habitations of human beings; but occasionally are so fine in appearance and so costly in appointments as to show marked contrast with the average homes of modest taxpayers. They ought to be substantial, but severely plain. Neglect of provisions for entire separation of the sexes leads to immorality, and the same results follow imperfect supervision and classification. The retention of feeble-minded girls and women in poorhouses is a prolific source of illegitimate and defective births, especially if these irresponsible creatures are free to come and go in the intervals of confinement. Feeble-minded women should be held closely in special state asylums during their entire lives.

The mental sufferings of respectable poor persons which arise from enforced residence with the debased, diseased, criminal,



and stupid, are unspeakable, and such compulsory association is a serious wrong to those who have all their lives been industrious and upright. The mental stagnation of the place is often a terrible burden to the more intelligent inmates. It is popularly supposed that most of the occupants of poorhouses have been persons of regular life and prosperous circumstances. But evidence gathered from many states points to the fact that the county infirmary is the last resort of incompetence and vice. Comparatively few have owned property or kept clear of dependence. Criminals and prostitutes, after long tossing about in the wild ways of anti-social conduct, are cast, like shipwrecked sailors, into this harbor of weakness. To make this infirmary also the home of laborers who have failed to acquire a competence, after an honest effort, is an injustice which the wage-working world is determined to correct.

The involuntary idleness of aged men and women who can no longer read, and who have narrow spiritual range of interests, and who are shut in during our long and dark winters, is a cause of distress which calls for remedy. Mental decay and dementia are hastened by such unfavorable conditions.

One of the worst evils, now happily in a way of cure, is the residence of children in these abodes of the unfit. Dickens said, "Throw a child under a cart horse's feet and a loaded wagon sooner than take him to an almshouse." Children learn by suggestion and imitation. The conversation and conduct of a poorhouse population deprave the mind. There is not, and can not, be a suitable family life. The means of school instruction are wanting. The natural avenues to wholesome living — industry, school, church — are closed. Disgrace clings inevitably to one who was brought up under such conditions, for no good can be expected to come of this mode of existence. For every reason all states should speedily follow the example of those great and progressive commonwealths which have made it illegal to retain children in poorhouses.

The insane should never be kept in county poorhouses. This

abuse sometimes occurs because legislatures neglect to provide adequate room in hospitals and asylums. The insane must be confined for public protection, and so they are thrown into almshouses, or even jails, which is an outrage on humanity.

The character of population and defects in arrangements may be illustrated by this description of a certain poorhouse, furnished by a careful student after direct inspection: —

"Of the 36 inmates, 23 are white and 13 colored. Of the white, 8 are men and 15 are women. Of the colored, 7 are men and 6 are women. There was one child, a negro girl about 3 or 4 years of age. The inmates were nearly all old people, ranging from 60 to 93 years. Age and inability to support themselves seem to be the causes of dependency of nearly all the inmates. Some are diseased and ought to be in hospitals; some are crippled or paralytic; one was epileptic; three were idiots; several were weak-minded; one was blind. So far as I could ascertain none are paupers from intemperance, either in themselves or in those who ought to be their supporters. One of them, it is said, drinks when he can get anything to drink, but he is upwards of 70 years of age, and is in the poorhouse on account of his wife, who is a paralytic. This man is one of the two paupers able to work on the farm; the other is an idiot, 70 years old, born in the poorhouse. These two constitute the working force from the poorhouse, with the exception of several old women who work in the field when they feel like it.

"There are four couples, three of them beyond the child-bearing age. One of the four wives will become a mother in a few days; she is able-bodied and physically a fine looking specimen, about 25 years old. Her husband is a cripple, unable to do anything but propagate his species. Another young woman who is not a wife has a similar prospect. I was told that she came to the poorhouse recently because there was nowhere else for her to go; no one would take her in.

"In this poorhouse the sexes are not separated, they occupy the same room with not even curtains to divide them. . . . The grand jury visits the establishment from time to time, but I suppose it must seem satisfactory to the members of it. This poorhouse has no nurse. When one of the inmates falls sick some of the others do the nursing. A physician is employed who makes flying visits to the place."

The causes of such evil conditions lie partly in the ignorance and partly in the neglect and stinginess of local authorities, and partly in the inhuman contempt which is felt for paupers.

Where there is little public interest in the poor, and the pastors have forgotten the gospel, and there is no organization of visitors or inspectors, the superintendent is apt to be carelessly chosen, and is permitted to perform his disagreeable task in a heartless way. The office has little in it to attract the highest gifts of intellect, although it is a field for both head and heart to work for the sorrowful. The institution is removed from public gaze, and seldom attracts visitors who have high standards of housekeeping. The inmates seldom furnish stimulating and desirable companionship. The incitements of honor, reward, appreciation, and distinction are wanting. It is not quite strange that the superintendent, even if not a heartless person, should fall into slovenly, careless, and cruel management.

It is a mistake to give the superintendent too much land for the farm. His energies should be concentrated on the care of the persons in his charge, not on the farming and stock-raising business. From ten to forty acres are usually enough to provide vegetables and milk for the population and to furnish occupation to feeble and broken men.

6. Amelioration. — There should be careful classification of inmates, with necessary means of separation. If the number of indoor paupers in one county is too small to justify the expense of means for proper classification, as here urged, then several counties might be united in one district to provide a single institution for all; or a county with few paupers may board them in another county which has provided adequate facilities. We frequently meet this arrangement in the United States.

Men and women should be housed in non-communicating wards. In industries they must be placed at different occupations and apart from each other. A matron should be in immediate control of the women. Old couples might well be housed in cottages, but there are difficulties and increased expense in this arrangement. The feeble-minded, especially girls and women, should not be retained in these establishments; but if they are permitted to remain they should be isolated and care-

fully watched and protected from themselves and from unscrupulous men. It is cheapest and best to provide custodial asylums. Insane paupers, if kept under the same management, should be in separate buildings and on distant grounds, as in Wisconsin. But even this degree of association with paupers is objectionable.

Consumptives should be sheltered in non-communicating houses, well lighted and ventilated, since tuberculosis is a communicable disease. Cancer patients are very disagreeable, and require isolation. Persons poisoned with syphilis must not come in contact with others.

Inmates should be separated, as far as possible, on the lines of character and habits. The respectable, tidy, clean, and moral should not be compelled to herd with those who carry with them the traits of vagabonds and criminals. It may not be necessary to inquire deeply into past history of conduct; but present conduct may be made the basis of classification. An ingenious and tactful superintendent can devise expedients for granting favors as marks of approval, and for placing each person in a position suitable to his disposition and peculiarities.

In many poorhouses the paupers are supported in idleness, especially during our long winters. Labor should be required, not as a means of punishment for past vice, nor primarily for income; but as a necessary condition of health, morality, and happiness of the inmates, and as a partial means of maintaining the self-respect of all. Labor is also a test of the pauper nature. It would tend to protect the institution from becoming the easy refuge of companies of tramps.

Industry is difficult to provide and direct, especially in the winter of cold climates. Many of the inmates are feeble, lazy, inefficient. Agricultural and horticultural pursuits cannot be carried through the year. The care of house and grounds can seldom employ all the available labor. The superintendent may find that it costs more to supervise and employ the people than their labor is worth; and he is tempted to let them vegetate in indolence until



they sink into apathy and decay. But difficult as it is to make such labor efficient and economical, considerations of health and discipline require a patient and sustained effort. The law and administrative rules should make it obligatory on every superintendent to do his best in this direction, and he should be kept to his duty by state supervision and the requirement of reports.

There should be a careful discrimination between the able bodied and the feeble. Industry in the case of the strong should be a work test, a proof of the willingness of the inmates to labor and a partial means of covering the expenses of their support. The poorhouse cannot be made a place of punishment or correction; that task belongs to another branch of government. Charity and penalty must not be mixed and confused. If men refuse to work, the police should be called in to arrest them for vagrancy, and send them to a workhouse.

For the feeble, industry must be regarded chiefly as a means of furthering physical and moral health, discipline, good order, and such production as is possible. All production of goods should be for immediate consumption on the premises, not for sale in the market in competition with free labor. Various methods of stimulating feeble persons to such work as they are capable of performing are easily devised, as extra comforts, amusements, and marks of distinction.

Outdoor relief should be used to prevent the necessity of begging or suffering; so that any one who begs is without excuse, and may be sent without reluctance to a workhouse or house of correction.

Private charity should not interfere with this system by ignorant and unreflecting almsgiving, or by aiding strangers without an understanding with the public authorities for the poor and with the police. Private charity should have work tests for all it relieves, and through organized bureaus should coöperate with public agencies in every case.

A very needy and attractive field for private charity at the poorhouse is the provision of employment for aged women. A

life of inactivity and aimlessness is torture. A society of good women in a county, imitating the example of Lady Brabazon in England, could furnish materials for plain and fancy work, and aid in occasional bazaars for the benefit of the unfortunate and aged people. This would relieve the tedious and depressing monotony of the almshouse life, bring cheerful motives into the dull existence, and awaken sisterly interest for the desolate and friendless in the entire community. We soon forget those for whom we render no personal service.

7. Regulation of Admission and Discharge. — The legal responsibility of relatives should be enforced before the county assumes support of a dependent person, and the resources of this kind should be carefully investigated before the pauper is admitted to permanent residence. Able bodied vagrants should be sent to a real workhouse, not to jail, and not to a poorhouse. The county institution should not be made a school of vice by being turned into a foundling asylum "with no questions asked" about parentage.

Discharge should not be at the option of the inmate, but only upon order from county authorities; and the order should not be given if the pauper is an unsafe person to enjoy entire freedom. Self-discharge should never be permitted; and this is especially harmful in case of feeble-minded women. Broken-down inebriates should be retained in custody, and not permitted to come and go in the intervals of debauch. If they are incapable of self-control, the state should assume charge of them and control them in their own interest.

All these, and other desirable regulations and improvements, can be secured only through systematic supervision by the state board of charities or its agents. But local voluntary associations may coöperate with the state in this task. Legislatures have, in some states, authorized the appointment of responsible citizens, by a court or otherwise, to visit and inspect county institutions at regular intervals, and to make reports. Women are very useful on such committees, since their housekeeping instincts and

tastes are very exacting, and their eyes are open to things unseemly, hurtful to health, cruel, and harsh.

8. The Churches have a special duty to the helpless inmates of the poorhouses. Religious care is too commonly neglected. There should be an organization in every county to appoint persons to hold musical and other religious services on Sunday, and to visit the feeble and weary with gospel comfort. The agency for providing these means of grace may be the Sunday School Convention, the Young Men's Christian Association, the conference of pastors, or any missionary organization.

9. Private Indoor Relief aims to spare the humiliation of the "poor who are ashamed" by providing homes for the sick, the invalid, and especially for aged people who have lived reputable lives and who dread the almshouse more than they dread the grave. The field left open by public indoor relief for private charity is defined in the proposition that public relief cares for extremity, cares for all without distinction of character, and provides only the necessities of existence: while private charity provides more particularly for special classes, as members of a certain nationality, or sect; may provide better accommodations for some who have been accustomed to them; may hide the shame of pauperism; may protect sensitive and refined dependents from association with the degraded; and may use the partial resources of the aged poor, and supplement them with gifts and endowments.

10. The Result and Outlook. — Even when the special classes of defectives are placed in separate institutions, according to their needs, the poorhouse will continue to draw into itself the most wretched wrecks of society. If the worn-out criminals and paupers could be selected, and the respectable aged given separate accommodations, the evil might be diminished. But it seems impossible for public institutions to make such discriminations. While many representatives of the labor movement are demanding that some such distinction should be made between the honest, though defeated, working-man and the criminal, and sepa-

rate accommodations provided, others think a better plan would be an imitation of the German insurance of aged working-people. We have pensioners of war; why not have pensioners of the army of labor, who have served their country faithfully, at low wages, and come at last to want? The old-age pension scheme might be made to provide for those who have homes and partial support; but public institutions would still be needed for the childless, homeless, and entirely destitute in prolonged feebleness and old age.



CHAPTER VI.

THE UNEMPLOYED AND THE HOMELESS DEPENDENTS.

1. Classification and Characterization. — For purposes of scientific explanation or of practical philanthropy, the first requirement is the distinct separation of the elements with which we must deal. Those who in times of financial depression and distress appeal for help on the plea that they cannot find work are too commonly confused in one mass, and are regarded either with undiscriminating pity or with unjust suspicion and hostility. Classification is demanded by justice and by wise charity.

In a first group we may mentally place *those who are temporarily out of employment, but who have some resources and are able to work.* There are laborers who are not employed at certain seasons of the year on account of the periodical nature of demand for the products of their trades; others are displaced by the vicissitudes of climate, or by strikes, lockouts, industrial depression. The resources may be in the form of property, savings deposits, credit with shopkeepers, trade union funds, or lodge benefits. Every year a great host of masons, bricklayers, painters, sailors on inland lakes, and farm hands are regularly without income from their crafts. Such persons are not driven to ask relief of the public unless deprivation is prolonged. Their idleness does affect the classes below them by increasing pressure on certain occupations by those who are thrown out of their usual trades, and by reducing their expenditures for commodities and services.

Persons without Resources. — Able bodied persons, engaged in irregular employments, are often affected by climate or by

periodical lapse of demand for their services, and, being without a fund to supply their wants, soon become dependent.

Other able bodied persons constitute the "reserve army of labor" and are at times superfluous. Industrial centres demand a much greater number of laborers at some times than at others; and this is especially true of such industries as the transfer of freight on wharves, the slaughtering and packing of animals for food, and many others. It is not easy to prove that corporations designedly make arrangements to hold such a ragged army in reserve; but it is clear that they find them convenient, not only when there is special haste, but also when there is a threat of strike for better terms. The crowd of hungry men waiting outside yard gates for the chance to bid against their fellows for a place to earn a day's wages in competition for existence is one of the most pathetic tragedies of our age. Unless this alternate glut and famine can be equalized and regulated, by unions or by law, its tendency and certain effect are to reduce many to the verge of mendicancy. The testimony of charity workers is very clear and unanimous as to both fact and effect.

We reach another level with those who are *partially futile:* men who are willing to work and able to do something, but fall below the average in ability to coöperate in industry. This inefficiency may be due to physical disease and feebleness, or to lack of training, or to inferior natural capacity, or to all three of these causes.

Next lower down are the *wholly futile*, often beggars of various grades and kinds. They are the unemployable. They are not capable of keeping step with the average workman, nor of adapting their slow and uncertain movements to the speed of modern machinery.

Down in the social bottom stratum are the *vicious* wanderers, the semi-criminal vagabonds, and sturdy rogues. It is curious to observe that there are distinct social classes even in this nether region of humanity. There are ranks and orders which must be punctiliously recognized. The members of these classes have



very narrow power of organization and conscious coöperation, but they have in common a tendency to prey upon the public.

Homelessness. — All the previous grades are divided by a vertical line of distinction into those who have homes and those who are homeless. Generally speaking, it is safe to say that as we descend the scale of industrial efficiency, homelessness, lack of normal domestic bonds and interests, becomes relatively more frequent, until in the wandering class all such ties disappear, and their influence is dissolved.

The multitude, called vaguely the Unemployed, is thus seen to be divisible into many groups and classes, so widely diverse in character and conditions that they are not all proper subjects of charity; some, at the top, are generally able to care for themselves, and others, at the bottom, are subjects of penal law rather than of relief systems. For those who belong to the highest ranks society is bound to provide through better industrial arrangements; while the prison treatment is naturally the proper agent for dealing with the lawless.

But representatives of all these classes come together in the office of the charity society or of public relief, and our theoretical divisions can be made actual only by the use of suitable tests in the hands of careful and capable investigators. Some of the poor who are proud and unbroken in spirit stay at home and starve, or sink under diseases caused by defective food; while clamorous beggars, accustomed to the art, carry the office by storms of browbeating or canting pretensions to poverty.

2. Causes of Unemployment. — The causes vary with classes and with years. We may note some of the more general and important. There are the maladjustments of industry; some due to physical factors, only partially under human control, as rigorous climates, drouth, and floods. Other industrial maladjustments are due to social arrangements, customs, and ideas. Here we may think of commercial crises and periods of depression which follow over-speculation; strikes and lockouts which arise from conflicts of class judgments and feelings in relation to

wages, in the absence of a judicial method of determining the question in a civilized way; arbitrary and capricious changes in fashions which at times crowd certain workers to excessive strain and sickness, and then leave them stranded and penniless for weary months; miscalculation as to the number of persons demanded in a given trade at a certain period and place; mistakes of great bodies of working-men in regard to the best places for labor; and over-population in congested districts. The full discussion of these causes and remedies belongs to theoretical economics, to practical economic politics, and to industrial sociology.

One effect of enforced idleness should be considered: the habit of voluntary tramping. Idleness, even when it is at first involuntary, comes to be liked. Vitality is lowered by the diminution of proper nourishment, by the vices of indolence, by irregularity. Home bonds are broken, self-respect is lowered, and degrading associations are formed.

Personal defects are causes: disease and weakness from heredity, vice, ignorance, neglect, climate, exposure, mental incapacity. Many tramps are criminals in disposition; and, having failed in the business of crime, because they lacked skill or courage, take to vagrancy and mendicancy for a livelihood. Family and society having neglected to train in habits and skill for industry, the wanderer learns a new art and plies it with varying success. And there is the great, awkward, sentimental, unthinking Public, which seems never able to learn, bribing and hiring the youth to become a tramp by means of its unsystematic, impulsive, unreflecting doles of alms and broken victuals and old clothes at the door.

3. Methods of Relief and Treatment. — In the chapters on outdoor relief and the poorhouse we have studied the methods actually in use in the United States for the relief of wandering dependents, and we must deal with them again when we study private charities. In this place we shall seek to present in a coherent and comprehensive plan the modes by which all

agencies, public and private, may coöperate most effectively on behalf of the unemployed.

Social obligation. — There are difficulties in the way of admitting, in any absolute sense, the claim of the unemployed, as against society, to "the right to work." It is very easy to declare that the community ought to furnish aid to all who need, and that by furnishing employment to those able to work. But it is not so easy to show how this can be done without creating greater misery than it is sought to relieve. What is impossible is not obligatory, and those who claim the right to work must show how it is possible to provide it.

It is one thing to hasten needed social improvements in times of depression, and thus give partial relief of temporary distress; it is quite another to admit the duty of society to provide work which is not needed, for all who demand it, when and where they choose, and at trade union rates. If all the unemployed were thus set to work at state cost, then two consequences would follow: extraordinary and continually rising cost, because labor for which there is no economic demand is not removed from the market, and a reflex action on all classes, which might lead to a complete revolution of the relations of labor and poor relief. There are striking and familiar historic illustrations of the evils of confusing relief and the wage question. The English poor laws, which were called Gilbert's Act (1782), extended the public relief principle to normal industry, by promoting the payment of outdoor relief where wages were not adequate for support. Immediately the employers lowered wages and sent their hands to the relieving officer for the subsidy. There was danger of debasing the entire working population of England. The Revolutionists of Paris, in 1848, sought to accomplish the same end from the other side; they opened workshops and promised remunerative occupation to all who applied. Thousands who liked to live in Paris streamed into the city and crowded every place, until the government met a problem which all its wealth and power could not solve. Public employment became poor



relief. In both instances this unnatural arrangement was an injury to free labor, lowered wages, caused a congestion of superfluous labor in the wrong places, increased idleness and thriftlessness, riots, disturbances, and vice.

Charity, public and private, must proceed quite independently of this controversy over the speculation about the "right to work." It does not pretend to enter that dispute. It sees misery and seeks to relieve it by the best means which experience has taught. It proceeds on the assumption that it is wiser to give relief in return for productive, useful industry, where this can be furnished economically and without unduly disturbing those who are supporting themselves. The mooted topic is left to political and economic science for solution.

The "right to work," in the last analysis, means the right to live. Our poor laws actually recognize the right of the living to live. A human being cannot live a life worthy of humanity without rational industry. We may admit, then, the right to live by work, to the living. The Socialists would attempt to adjust all industry for all citizens by some scheme of community control over all. It is conceivable that their plan might be made to work, although it would seem to involve such stringent limitations of personal initiative as to practically destroy individual freedom. Short of Socialism, we already admit the duty of society to save the living from starvation; and when competitive, free industry is not procurable, the duty of furnishing the necessaries of existence in return for work, or even without work, in case of feebleness.

Socialists and Individualists may both safely accept the doctrine of support on two conditions: that society reserves the right to prevent the propagation of more of the unemployable classes; and that social agents direct where and how those supported shall work. To build workshops in cities and pay market wages to all applicants would invite national ruin. If the collective system should ever displace the competitive system, it would be compelled, in that "state of the future," to limit the numbers of the



population by artificial and rigorous measures, and to dictate exactly the place of residence, the kind of work, the wages, and all the rest of life conduct.

The *Methods of Relief actually in Use in Normal Times* must be analyzed and subjected to criticism in the light of principles derived from wide experience.

First of all comes into view the almost universal custom of giving individual doles at the door or on the street, without investigation, without knowledge of the beggar, and without control of his use of the money. Giving without knowledge is, in its effects, like administering powerful medicines in the dark; and the effect of such impatient and impulsive payment for escape from importunity is a direct bid for vagabondage. A little better is the work done by societies which assist all comers, without investigation or work test, as in mission lodging-houses, which furnish bean soup and free beds. Some of the missions charge a small sum to mitigate the evil. The Charity Organization Societies are seeking to deal with tramps in a more systematic and rational way, by providing work tests and by assisting the wanderer to find some sort of regular employment. But there are still lacking the elements of completeness and control.

One of the worst methods is that of cities which furnish free lodgings in cold winter nights in police stations, and permit all sorts of men to sleep on the stone floors, packed closely together, — the penniless youth from the country with the vermin-infested vagabond, whose breath is foul and whose whole personality is the centre of moral contagion. This method is cruel, inhumane, dangerous to public health, and debasing to all concerned. When men can come and depart without even giving their names, without pledge of honest effort, without one redeeming act of real effort toward a better way, the city is disgraced in the eyes of all persons who are informed.

Another great abuse is the custom of giving free transportation to those wanderers who profess a willingness to clear the town of their presence. If public officials can send away tramps at the

cost of a railroad they often imagine they have favored the dear taxpayers. But the system is merely a stupid barter of bad specimens, with additional expense for gratuitous travel.

The county poorhouse is a temporary resort of the fraternity of irresponsible travellers during the inclement winter, when the green pastures and the haystacks do not furnish comfortable lodgings. When the birds of spring migrate from the South, these human birds of passage take to the highways and leave the superintendent without help in early gardening. Sometimes the jail is the public hotel for tramps, and there is no great hardship in passing the stormy weeks in playing cards and eating regular meals at public cost. This also is a method whose description is its condemnation.

Occasionally we learn that outraged communities resort, legally or otherwise, to those cruel repressive measures which were common in former and less enlightened ages. It is utterly vain to subject vagabonds to whipping, dungeons, or starvation in cells, unless the compassionate public is entirely certain that these men have been offered occupation and have refused to labor for the means of existence. The almsgivers are as hard to suppress as tramps, and they will give, from fear or from pity, if there is not a humane and rational provision for the victims of unkind fate. A just community will not permit even rascals to suffer if there is danger of leaving an occasional honest man without a real chance to help himself. Every attempt to bring back these savage, mediæval methods ends in failure.

Among the direct palliative measures most to be commended are those wayfarers' lodges which offer food and beds in return for some labor at a simple task which any strong man, without skill, can perform.

A municipal lodging-house may safely provide rest and refreshment to weary pilgrims of all kinds on certain reasonable conditions: every man must submit to a spray bath, must permit the officers to disinfect his clothing, must show his sincerity by seeking employment at designated places and by faithful performance

of tasks assigned. If he shirks work the police arrest him for vagrancy, and he goes to the workhouse. This system has been found a great aid to the police in the suppression of vagrancy; but it is not adequate, and we must add other features.

Other methods were brought to light in a conference of Massachusetts relief officers in November, 1900.[1] Towns were reported which shelter and feed tramps, or shelter only, but make a practice of taking before a court on second or third applications, or posting the vagrant law, or warning to leave town. Others discourage by indirect means, usually by not giving food or by placing the tramp house far from the centre of the town. One town refers them to an almshouse six miles away, and another provides a small building in the local cemetery, which is not popular. In certain places help was refused except to the sick or on occasion of stormy weather.

The objection to all such merely repressive schemes is that they are likely to be too severe on honest men seeking employment, and that kind-hearted people, knowing that the difficulty of securing relief is almost prohibitory, will continue to give alms at the door. This fear of doing injustice has a certain basis in experience. It was asserted by an overseer of Boston that sixty per cent of the whole number lodged in 1899 were probably really seeking employment.

Children and youth should not be sent to mingle with adult vagrants, but to separate lodging-houses, specially adapted to their needs.

Outline of a more Adequate System.— From description and criticism we pass to principles of amelioration, of higher organization to meet the demands of collective wisdom in this field. Such a system must provide for emergency relief, for ordinary conditions, and for prevention. The methods must aim to provide for education and training, for deterrent motives, for material help, for custody of the dangerous, and for better social conditions.

Emergency Relief. — Exceptional conditions justify and require special and temporary methods. The chief principles regulative of emergency relief are: investigation of every application by a Charity Organization Society, never by the police. The mark of crime should not be set upon any man until it has been proved that he deserves it.

[1] *Charities Review*, January, 1901, p. 493.



Starvation cases should be relieved instantly by orders covering only the necessities of life; and these orders should be renewed at intervals of a few days. This relief should be in kind, not in money; and store orders are permissible if the articles are not kept in stock by the relieving agency. Food and clothing should be in shape for immediate use. Often cooked food is necessary, where the family is not able to prepare it. As quickly and completely as possible work should be organized to pay for the relief. It is desirable that this work be productive, rational, and not mere make-believe work. It should be non-competitive, temporary, with wages at lower rates than those of the local labor market, so that men will be absorbed in regular industry as rapidly as business revives, and it should be adapted to the unskilled and to men of all trades. Public works which are likely to be useful and necessary may be hastened at such times, even if money is borrowed for the purpose, since the economy of cheaper labor may be a justifying reason. Private employment on grounds and improvements may properly be hastened for the same reason. Thus streets, parks, drives, cleaning, draining, may be pushed forward at such periods, where there is a surplus of unemployed labor; for thus community wealth will be increased permanently, while the wage-workers are saved from demoralization, and regular business is not disturbed. It is easier, however, to state these principles than to embody them in administration in specific instances. The principles are sound, and inventive, capable men have many times put them into practice.

Regular relief of the unemployed in normal times and for residents requires different methods. Among the devices which conform to sound principles may be mentioned the loan method. It has been found that honesty and good habits can be capitalized in days of distress. Provident loan societies, carefully managed, investigate all applicants for small sums, lend on personal security or chattel mortgage, at low rates, and lose so little that a moderate profit is returned to stockholders. Such semi-

philanthropic societies succeed with a limited class of laboring men, and help to keep many a worthy person from the clutches of the pawnbroker.

The vegetable garden method ("Pingree potato patch") is a device which suits the situation where there is plenty of accessible, unoccupied land suitable for tillage, and where there is also considerable labor force unemployed and ready for action. The management may be in the hands of a commission appointed by the mayor, or under the control of agents of the Charity Organization Society, or similar association. Not infrequently the gardeners produce enough vegetables to supply their winter needs, learn a new and valuable occupation, and are even attracted to turn their faces from the crowded city slum to the fresh and inviting life of the country.

Free Employment Bureau. — The experience of the former New York Employment Society[1] leads its officers to these conclusions: —

The free labor bureau is an important factor in philanthropic work. There are many capable, trustworthy men thrown out of work by business changes, or other circumstances beyond their control, who are practically unable to secure another position for which they are fitted. The bureau gives hope to the honest but despondent man, and exposes the impostor.

Such a bureau should be free from connection with a relief society. Many men, whom the bureau would like to help, will not avail themselves of the privilege, desiring to be independent of charitable relief even in this indirect form. The employing class assumes that lower wages can be paid because the men are evidently in need of work. In public bureaus it should be a rule in the case of strikes and lockouts, to give aid to neither side. Neutrality is necessary in such contests, as with the Red Cross corps of nurses in the army.

Preference should be given to resident applicants, so as to avoid attracting immigrants to an already crowded city, to the

[1] *Charities*, Dec. 22, 1900, pp. 1 ff.

competent rather than the shiftless, to men of character rather than to tramps, and to married men before single men. The practice of these rules by a bureau of course leaves work for other agencies, which will care specially for the vagrants and incompetent. Separate agencies and different methods are required for the latter.

There are many cases in which material relief is far better than an offer of work. It is not always possible to "make work" for all, and an attempt may simply displace efficient workers and push into industry the incompetent. A part of the difficulty is in the forced competition of the unfit with the adapted. Here we must face squarely the problem of elimination of the unemployable from parasitic industries. The indiscriminate and unflinching use of the workhouse test, which offers the alternative of giving able bodied persons the choice between compulsory labor in an institution and starvation, is open to serious objections. Public and private outdoor relief may sometimes find other tests of the willingness to work of the resident poor, and give them partial support for a brief time, until the adults can provide for their wants by regular industry, and have a free chance to find it. If offered work is refused, it will be proper to arrest for vagrancy and refusal to support the family.

4. The Vagrant Residuum. — Regular relief in normal times must be provided for homeless, wandering men and women. Labor bureaus have a certain restricted value. Private bureaus at the offices of charitable societies usually reach helpfully only those who are incompetent, feeble, or irregular. They are avoided by efficient workmen and by employers who are seeking skill and efficiency. Wherever it is possible, such bureaus should be in a place quite separate from offices of relief. State bureaus of employment are not open to this objection, as they are not suspected of having the charitable taint. They are rather preventive than relieving agencies. Just when they are most needed, however, they are apt to fail, that is, in times of depression; although even then they may direct laborers to points where



demand is greatest. No dependent person should be furnished transportation from one place to another until employment or other stable provision has been secured.

Some sort of a work test, adequate and on a large scale, if necessary, should be used to discriminate the willing from the lazy. This may be a simple industry, like stone breaking, if a convenient and occasional device is required. Or it may be a direction to seek work, perhaps by the aid of a list of places open, or by the advertising notices in the morning newspaper. If the person refuses to seek or take work he should, if able bodied, be delivered to the police magistrates for commitment to a workhouse, as a misdemeanant under the vagrant statute. It has already been urged that every county poorhouse should provide such work tests, and that in close connection with police courts and officers. Charitable societies sometimes provide woodyards as simple forms of industry, and have friendly inns for lodging the shelterless in return for work done.

Each city should provide a municipal lodging-house, to supplement private lodging-houses and charitable inns. Such an establishment should be fully equipped to furnish spray baths, disinfection of clothing, decent beds, plain food, opportunity of seeking employment under careful agents, and transportation for those who have reasonable prospect of occupation. It should be understood by the great awkward public that every wandering, penniless, homeless person can have a public shelter; that begging is absolutely without excuse in necessity; and then only will people refuse to give indiscriminate doles at every crossing, — a custom which is one of the chief causes of the tramp habit.

Police stations should never be used for shelter of the homeless. This is to confuse relief with punishment, add to the horrors of charity, diminish the deterrent influence of penalty, and multiply the evils of contagious disease and of evil example and association.

Training must be given to the capable and willing who have no skill and cannot market their labor. This training may be

mechanical or agricultural. Private charity has here a function and duty. The Salvation Army has some value in connection with a section of this class. All who are willing to come under a religious rule, or even pretend to be willing, may receive benefits on their farms or in their shops. But men who are unwilling to take the guidance of a religious society must have other kinds of industrial training in establishments of city or state. The presence of a great army of untaught men is evidence of a fundamental defect in social treatment of childhood, in school instruction, and in means of forming habits of industry and of acquiring skill. The apprenticeship system is made obsolete by machinery, and the shop or factory is seldom a place for a child to learn a trade or to acquire that discipline which fits him for modern industrial life.

Voluntary organization of those who can and will work, but cannot manage, is required by the situation. Free farm colonies, similar to those found in various parts of Germany, promise good results for a limited class. Experience has shown that these places are avoided by the competent, and visited chiefly by the broken and inefficient, a majority of whom are discharged prisoners.

We have still to deal with another large class of men who need the training and discipline of shop or farm, but will not voluntarily seek such helps, and must be compelled. Such are the habitual vagrants and professional tramps. Salvation Army methods cannot reach these. Private charitable societies cannot be trusted with power to compel obedience to their rules. State and municipal police must take hold of this class with vigor and rigor, in coöperation with railroad companies.

Habitual drunkards and criminal tramps ought to be subjected to indeterminate and progressive sentences; but here we touch a subject which will be treated under the head of corrections or criminal sociology.

There are various preventive methods which might be discussed as fruits of philanthropy in general and which are very useful,



but are not strictly charitable in the ordinary sense: industrial education, trade unions, mutual benefit societies, building and loan associations, regulation of child labor by law, factory inspection, insurance against accident. In such measures government and business managers and the humane public might well coöperate, and thus anticipate the forces which make for humiliation and pauperism.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RELIEF AND CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN.

1. Coöperation with the Home. — It is a first principle of charity to avoid breaking up the natural relations of the family so long as the interests of the children are not in jeopardy. Parental responsibility must not be weakened, and the affections which cling to offspring and parents must not be lightly destroyed. In many dependent families the need of relief is due to the burden of children, especially when excessive numbers and prolonged illness occasion unusual expense. So long as children remain with parents, outdoor relief is given to the family in order to maintain its integrity, and it is not given directly to the children. The duty of support is still borne by parents. In case of the death or desertion of the breadwinner, especially of the father, the burden of the half-orphans may be the chief or sole reason for requiring foreign aid.

The care of children in homes of extreme poverty may take two forms: protection and oversight of conduct; or physical, hygienic, and sanitary aid.

A limited number of institutions may be necessary for boarding children. A widower may be left in charge of a brood of motherless children, and may be able to pay for their support, and eager to maintain his paternal relations to them, and yet be utterly unable to keep up a household. Or a mother, left a widow, may desire to retain possession of her children and work for their support, and yet be hindered from securing employment so long as she must keep them together in a home. Temporary care, with or without pay, in some establishments may be the wisest and most humane method.

The day sanitarium for feeble and sick children is a useful arrangement in great cities. Such agencies frequently preserve the lives of infants and teething children during the hot weeks of summer, and bring rest and hope to many a weary mother who feels the depressing force of crowded conditions in the tenement districts. An old ship floats in the river, or a great tent is spread by lake or sea, or a permanent tabernacle is built where the breezes blow, and there is play and cheerfulness and new life. Nurses and medical care must be at hand, and means of transportation without cost must be furnished, for carfare under these circumstances makes the distance a prohibitory barrier to the poor.

Charity finds a significant field of service in supplying pure and sterilized milk for infants and children. Too frequently the food of the city children is tainted and dangerous to life, and the ignorance or helplessness of parents prevents the supply of wholesome diet. Pasteurized milk is one of the most important factors of health, and it greatly reduces mortality.

Among the prophylactic methods should be mentioned medical examinations of school children to prevent and cure diseases of the eyes and skin, curvature of the spine, and other ailments. In the same connection may be mentioned free dentistry and education in the care of the teeth of children in public schools.

The day nursery, or crèche, has for its purpose to give suitable care to young children while their mothers go out to work. This mode of charity often opens the way to instruct and encourage mothers in regard to proper methods of caring for infants, in diet, dress, bathing, and other matters of personal hygiene.

The day nursery is not without its dangers. Mothers may learn to find it agreeable to leave the care of their little ones to others. Fathers, disposed to shirk duty, may willingly let their wives go out to labor for support, while the home is neglected. The crèche itself may be unfit for the purpose, and not carefully attended; and, in consequence, contagious diseases may spread. Sometimes epidemics break out, and the place must be closed

[illegible] OF
[illegible]
[illegible], CALIFORNIA

and work be suspended for weeks together. This entails irregularity and disappointments. The essential factors of such an establishment are well-ventilated and well-lighted rooms, always fresh and clean; little beds of simple structure and clean as they can be; and skilful nurses during the day. At night the children are taken home by the mothers.

Only infants of widows, or of women whose husbands are disabled, should be accepted, lest men be taught to rely upon their wives for maintenance. A small fee is usually charged, more to prevent pauperism than to secure means of support. For both sanitary and moral reasons the infants of unmarried mothers cannot ordinarily be accepted.

The "Country Week" and Holiday Colonies. — Rich people know from experience the advantages of summer residence in the open country, near to the green fields, with life in sunshine and fresh air, far from dust and smoke and perpetual noise. Such change from city to country is far more important for the poor, whose residences are crowded and unwholesome. Farmers are often willing to receive children gratuitously, or for a moderate compensation; but careful selection and supervision are necessary. Sometimes children whose parents are quite able to provide for them are sent out by charity societies, while many very needy ones are overlooked. It is not safe to send children who are afflicted with communicable disease, or who are morally depraved. Without careful oversight accidents may happen in transporting the careless, happy crowds. In some situations it is not prudent to rely on isolated farmers caring for scattered children, where supervision is difficult; and it is found better to establish camps with tents or rude shelter, so that the little community may be controlled by wise and trustworthy leaders, known to the association of charities.

These rare and exceptional enjoyments of country life and seashore ought not to be regarded as substitutes for more general and comprehensive measures. Cities should be urged to provide free playgrounds and small parks in all crowded districts,



where children may romp and play in open air, and older sisters and mothers can take the babies to rest in the shade of trees, near cooling jets of fountains.

Vacation schools in summer months are valuable aids to health and morals. The little ones are kept off the streets and saved from the perils of idleness. Roguish boys find a natural outlet for energy, and do not fall into ways of mischief and crime. Wise teachers know how to continue instruction as a pleasant recreation. Pupils do not forget so much of what they learned during the school year, as they would do if instruction were entirely suspended.

Charity should not be content and satisfied with sending children to the country and with opening vacation schools, but should follow them back into the noisome and stifling homes, and take up the tenement house problem.

The children of very poor families often come to school suffering from hunger, cold, and raggedness. Associations of good people may find it wise to provide food for the bodies of those who are weak from deficient nutrition, and decent clothes to protect them from the bite of frost.

Nor must we forget in this connection the vital importance to the poor of so directing the instruction that the young may acquire mechanical skill, have brain and hand training for constructive work, and so be better fitted to compete in a world which has no place nor patience for awkwardness and idleness. Economists tell us that the tendency of industry and trade is to secure for each workman the whole value of the product of his individual industry.[1] So far as this tendency is real it implies that the wisest charity is that which raises the industrial efficiency of the youth by trade training.

Special departments are needed in the public schools for the training of that large class of slow and partly defective children, — the blind, the deaf, the stubborn, — who cannot profit by ordinary class work, and who are sorely tempted to play truant and

[1] J. B. Clark, "The Distribution of Wealth."

escape from the agony of hopeless struggle in competition with normal children. Many of these do not need to be sent away from home to state schools, but should be taught by special teachers, and permitted to grow up at home and in natural surroundings.

Medical care and hospital aids for the crippled, deformed, and feeble will be mentioned in the chapter devoted to medical charities.

Kindergartens are among the most useful and promising means of maintaining the integrity of the family and promoting its functions of education. Like the crèche, it not only educates the little children, but it gives a point of natural contact between the teacher and the mother, who is often ignorant and discouraged. The methods to be employed belong to the literature of pedagogical science and art. We should insist that real kindergarten work cannot be done without ability, training, and insight into educational aims and principles. In the pioneer stages, so slow is the formation of public opinion, the cost of support and experiment must often be borne by individuals and by voluntary associations. At a later stage public sentiment usually demands that the work be carried on by the public school system; but there are nearly always neglected areas where private philanthropy has a free field.

In any complete system of child saving, compulsory education must occupy a large place. Parents must not be left at liberty to educate their offspring, the future citizens, whose ignorance and evil habits are a menace to order and political institutions. If parents are too poor to provide food, clothing, and books, then charity in some form must come to their assistance.

An ungraded school or a day industrial school is a wise arrangement to give instruction and discipline to children who play truant and who may properly be left in charge of their parents at home. Parental schools are found necessary in carrying out the rules of compulsory attendance, because some families are quite unable or unfit to control the children. In both instances, where expense is incurred for board, the parents

should be required to pay all that they are able to do, so that the sense of responsibility may not be weakened and the public burdened with a cost which should be borne by parents. At this point we see the connection of charity with measures preventive of crime.[1]

Humane societies seek to teach the young to protect dumb animals from cruelty, and this charity reacts on human beings themselves, and makes them more considerate of each other. Poverty and neglected childhood are closely related to each other and to crime. A rational charity, comprehensive in its scope and method, adequate in equipment, directed by leaders of education and power, is one of the most promising means of preventing crime.

2. Care of Destitute Homeless Children. — It is a cardinal principle of public and private charity that the family must be held to its task and responsibility by all available means, so long as it can possibly serve its functions; that parents and relatives should not be bribed by charity to neglect their own flesh and blood. This law is frequently violated and with disastrous results.

But there are circumstances in which children must perish, or suffer moral ruin, if they are not protected by the community. Children are naturally and necessarily dependent on others for physical support and for education. The events which make family support impossible or undesirable are the desertion or exposure of offspring by unnatural parents, especially by unmarried mothers; the death of parents; the unfitness of parents, through immorality, cruelty, or crime, for the care of their children; the impossibility of giving maintenance, as in case of some half-orphans. The methods adapted to these various conditions must be treated separately.

One principle must be insisted upon: If children are taken from parents, it should always be through a regular judicial process, so that parental rights and duties shall not be set aside by arbitrary, private action nor be wantonly overlooked.

[1] Compare the chapter on Juvenile Offenders in Part IV.

Foundlings and other Abandoned Infants. — There is a social need for some refuge for unmarried mothers in the hour of their terror and shame, to meet the demands of humanity, to prevent suicide, infanticide, and hopeless prostitution.

There are dangers and difficulties in establishing such humane arrangements for deserted infants and unmarried mothers. For parents are sorely tempted to hide their guilt, to leave the fruit of sin to their neighbor's care and cost, and, finding the way of evil so easy, they are tempted to repeat the deeds of wrong and shame. Therefore the principle of investigation must be strictly applied, and all regulations must look to the reformation and rescue of the transgressors, and to prevent the growth of vice in the community.

Philanthropy must discriminate carefully between orphans and foundlings and other abandoned children. Orphans are not deserted by the wilful and selfish act of those who gave them birth, but are deprived of natural support by death. If abandoned children are taken by societies without question or investigation, a social vice is fostered. France tried an experiment from which we may learn much. By an edict of 1811 the turning-cradle (*tour*) was authorized in foundling asylums, and babes could be placed in them by unknown mothers whose faces could not be seen from inside the building. The consequence of this rule, which was introduced into 235 hospitals, was a frightful increase in the number of children surrendered to public care. People began to transfer their infants to the hospitals as a matter of course, and the custom spread by imitation. In 1784 there were 40,000 cases; in 1815, 68,000; and in 1834, 134,000. Hamburg, London, and other cities tried similar experiments with the same results. This device is now rarely used. There could hardly be a better illustration and proof of causality and prevision in social science. There are social laws.

The best methods include the application of the following principles: careful investigation of the entire situation; the enforcement upon both parents of legal responsibility for sup-

port, as provided in most poor laws; and the most careful effort to save the mother from repetition of her offence and bring the father to a sense of his duty.

Great buildings are not suitable for the care of infants. If many infants are sheltered in one house they are sure to develop a high rate of mortality, and it would be as humane to drown them all at once. An authentic example will illustrate the law. In the New York Infants' Hospital, of 366 infants admitted, when under six months of age, without their mothers, during 1896, but 12 remained alive on April 15, 1897; a mortality rate of 96.7 per cent. The average duration of life of 354 children who died was between five and six weeks. Of the 12 surviving children two were bottle-fed and ten were nursed. The death rate is the standard of judgment for institutions devoted to infants; it is as infallible as a barometer.

The foundling asylum which attempts to keep infants together in large numbers is condemned by experience, and there is no longer any reason for supporting or tolerating it. All such institutions should be suppressed by law.

While seeking by all possible means to discover the parents and compel or persuade them to perform their duty, this will be found in many instances impossible, and the community must provide for the innocent babe. The best method is to shelter the helpless creature temporarily in a very small hospital, specially built for the purpose, and remove it as soon as a good woman can be found who will give it suitable nourishment and care. Such foster mothers must be paid a sufficient sum, and must be under competent medical inspection and care. It is understood from the first that they will not be permitted to adopt the foundling as their own. Families in the country usually have a more desirable situation than city families, but this is not an invariable rule.

The ideal method looks to rescue and restoration of father and mother with the child, and by means of the affections awakened by its birth. But this is a difficult, tedious, and precarious task.

Many persons of wide experience believe that it is better for both mother and child, where marriage is not practicable, to separate them, and let both begin life anew without the burden of disgrace. This controversy cannot be settled by absolute rules, and administrators must take such a course as seems wisest to them in particular cases, with the best use of tact and discrimination. Not all unmarried mothers have the moral strength of the heroine of Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter," and the courage to stay in the very community which knows of the sin until confidence, and even reverence, are won by devotion and sacrifice.

But it has been shown in all parts of the country that there are plenty of places, especially in rural communities, for such mothers at domestic service, even if they take the infants with them. In the present condition of that occupation people are quite willing to overlook the past, if a woman will bring her infant and perform labor enough to earn her living and something beyond.

In our great city there are private establishments popularly known as "baby farms," whose existence and location are made known through specious and attractive advertisements in the great newspapers. Women are invited to board in these places before and after confinement; their stay is concealed from the public, and they are promised that the infant will be "adopted." The meaning of all this is that the "farmer" frequently consigns the illegitimate babe to some charitable home-finding society, which accepts a fee for the service; and society takes up the burden of support, and the erring mother and father go free of care or responsibility. Unfortunately, the name of charity is often disgraced by unscrupulous agents of home-finding societies, who are in collusion with keepers of such places and with low lawyers. The general public is little aware of the extent and evils of this iniquitous calling. All such houses should be placed under rigid legal control and inspection by representatives of the state board of charities. Legitimate home-finding societies would thus be protected from suspicion in their necessary functions, and the scoundrels would be brought to justice.

3. Dependent Children in Poorhouses. — In the early history of our country there was no other public institution for the care of orphans, and it was not difficult to place children in homes, if they were strong enough to work, because labor was in demand, and a child could be made useful. But population increased in density, cities grew apace, with no occupation for the young; neighborhood ties were less close; and a more depraved class of paupers arose. At last the evil of keeping children in almshouses became manifest and glaring, and evidences of injury multiplied.

There are many and serious objections to this method. The adults are of such a low character, as a rule, so indolent, coarse, and immoral, that they are not fit to be companions and instructors of innocent childhood. A pauper record as a poorhouse ward injures the prospects of the child. The authorities of a county asylum are not able, even if competent, to maintain an efficient system of supervision for adopted and apprenticed orphans during minority.

In the chapter on Indoor Relief we have already noted the wholesome tendency to abolish the custom of sending children to such places, and to provide for them in a more desirable way. Those who still remain are usually infants of pauper mothers, or are feeble-minded children, crippled or otherwise not attractive for adoption or for apprenticeship.

4. Orphans and Neglected Children, taken by Legal Process from Parents, in Normal Physical and Mental Condition. — All such persons can be considered together, since they are equally cast upon public or private charity for the means of existence and education. Two methods have long been in use, and are still in controversy, at least in respect to details: the institutional method, and the placing-out system. Under the institutional method the dependent child is kept for a long period, perhaps during minority, in a great institution where all its physical and spiritual wants are met. After a term of years the youth is apprenticed or finds a home. No one advocates keeping normal

persons in institutions indefinitely, or even after majority. It is now generally admitted that such establishments are entirely unnatural, artificial, and, after youth is past, injurious. To marriageable persons they would simply be prisons. The only controversy now relates to the period during which the minor should be kept in the large asylum.

At the twenty-sixth National Conference of Charities and Corrections, the Committee on the Care of Destitute and Neglected Children formulated the agreement of all parties in controversy. This report deserves special consideration because of its representative character, the chairman being Mr. Thomas M. Mulry, president of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul of the city of New York. The conclusion to which all came was thus stated: "All workers agree that the home is the natural place to properly develop the child." This pregnant sentence may be regarded as the monument of an epoch-making decision in the history of charitable methods; and it will become a regulative principle which must gradually transform the means and agencies of many societies, as its significance comes to be generally understood. Like all wide principles, it seems so simple, obvious, and rational as to require no argument, yet it has not been reached without immense waste of money and long and bitter controversies.

5. Need of Institutions. — It will be admitted that there is a certain limited field of usefulness for institutions and for permanent buildings, even when we exclude all feeble, sickly, crippled, and otherwise abnormal children. Buildings and interior arrangements should be adapted to the functions of rescue, quarantine, training, and central supervision; but all on a much smaller scale than was formerly thought desirable. There are wayward youths, difficult to manage during adolescence, who quiet down and become worthy citizens if they are placed for a time under patient, tactful, high-minded persons during the period of storm and stress, the revolutionary and rebellious years. But such persons should not be kept in large numbers under one management, since they require individual

treatment, outdoor life, manual labor, school studies, hygienic and pedagogic help.

There are several types of arrangement of such buildings. In the congregate plan all the inmates are housed in large barrack-like edifices and sleep in dormitories or wards. This plan is often thought to be least expensive, since the greatest number of children can be stored in the smallest space. Where more consideration is given to ground rent than to the lives, health, and vigor of children, such economy becomes the ruling factor. But there are serious disadvantages in this arrangement. Diseases, especially among quite young children, are likely to enter and spread rapidly where there is a throng and a multitude, and sickness is more fatal. A certain military precision and strictness of order must be maintained where numbers are large, and movements very artificial and unnatural to the young must prematurely be forced upon them. Individual self-direction, the essential condition of later success, has little exercise; the child is made a part of a machine, and his faculties of invention and initiation are weakened. He becomes accustomed to a mode of life utterly unlike that of the normal family, and when he goes out to care for himself he has acquired none of those habits of thought and feeling which equip one for this competitive world, where personal courage is so essential to success. The very fact, so often quoted by friends of this system, that the children like this hot-house system, is an argument against it, for it shows that the unsocial habits have cast their chains about the very soul. The worst thing ever said of slavery was that the slave cared for nothing better.

In order to avoid the injurious effects of the large barrack asylum, the "cottage" or "family" plan has been adopted by some institutions. In this arrangement the groups of persons are smaller, from fifteen to sixty in one building. A house mother cares for all, directs all. If anything really akin to genuine family life is sought, it is impossible to place more than ten or twelve children with one mother. But such a method is

very expensive if the children are retained for any length of time.

A third type is a compromise between those already mentioned, the combined cottage and congregate plan. Here the groups sleep and live in separate cottages, while the dining hall, school, chapel, administrative offices, and shops are in a central edifice. When it is necessary to keep many hundreds of children for some years, this is the best plan, although it is more costly than the purely congregate system, especially in cities, where land is expensive; and it is open to the objections urged against asylum life in general.

Under the very best plan of arrangement there are serious perils in institutional life. Infectious disease has opportunity to spread. Children who have not been spoiled by rigid discipline revolt against regimental drill every waking moment. There can be no mothering, no caresses, no marks of personal affection and attention which are so necessary in developing the moral instincts and affection. The body is fed, but the soul is starved. The orderly company is trained to dependence; the table is set and provided with food cooked in huge copper kettles and steel ranges; the bell calls with deadly precision to each task and pleasure. This is not real life; it is a merely artificial mode of existence. Individual characteristics are suppressed, as in the army, and the education of distinctive traits is made impossible. The most depraved children have an opportunity in the throng to become influential and to taint others with their immoralities.

The cost of institutions is relatively great. From $300 to $800 must be invested for each child in buildings, grounds, and other plant, and from $150 to $300 a year expense of maintenance for each person. The interest on investment and the salaries of a corps of servants, superintendents, and teachers, constitute a steady and heavy draft on financial resources. In consequence of this vast expense for a relatively small number, hundreds and thousands of needy and neglected children are left without help;

and while a pampered few are using up the funds of philanthropy, multitudes of little ones are left in their misery and peril.

Every institution, by a law of its being, is impelled to preserve its place and power. Officers and trustees have a natural pride in ruling over large numbers and imposing establishments. Salaries are often given on a scale representing the apparent magnitude of the work. The boards of management love to drive past the massive edifices and "point with pride" to the lofty buildings, the ample grounds, the long rows of painfully demure and subdued children, — the cloud of witnesses to their bounty.

It is easier to run in a groove than to move out upon city life with inventive energy and adjust plans to swiftly changing circumstances and varied wants. Attachments spring up for the brightest, prettiest, and best behaved children. Sometimes we must add the influence of a conscientious, but injurious ecclesiasticism, which loses sight of the interest of the child, and holds him to the asylum rather than let him go to a good home where a slightly different creed may be taught.

If the institution is supported in part by city or state subsidies, these temptations to continue a bad policy are intensified, and the asylums are crowded and kept full for the sake of earning the income, at cost of the future welfare of the ward and of the public.

6. Principles of Successful Management of Institutions. — Success here means fitting as many neglected children as possible for normal family relations, and finding homes for all as speedily as possible. The universal principle of investigation must here be repeated. The agents of a society cannot deal wisely with a child without knowledge of its heredity, social conditions, and relations. Legal title should be secured in all cases where adoption is intended. Family life is the ideal goal of the institution, and small groups are better than great regiments. Children should go to the public schools with other children, and to the neighboring churches and Sunday-schools, and thus learn to

mingle naturally with society. Rapidly as may be, even by legal compulsion, all normal children should be placed in good homes and carefully visited and supervised until majority, or until oversight is no longer necessary.

7. Boarding out Children. — It is not always possible, especially in older communities, to secure suitable families who are willing to adopt dependent children and assume their entire support. The difficulty increases when the child is a foundling of unknown and suspicious origin, sickly and motherless, or unattractive in appearance and wayward in habits. Placing out is promoted by the offer of at least part payment for the care of such children. This is much better than institutional life, and is less expensive. Frequently a natural attachment grows up between the waif and those with whom it is boarded, and then the foster parents are willing to accept legal responsibilities and maintain the child. In many cases the parent may be glad and able to meet the cost, at least in part; and if the child is over twelve years of age, its support may be met by its own wages. The rights of such children must be safeguarded by supervision.

8. Placing out. — It is now generally agreed that a good family home is far better for a homeless dependent child than an institution. Physical health, industrial training, normal social environment and opportunities, rooted affections and virtues, access to avenues of success, are all offered by natural family life.

As an encouragement to those who undertake the reponsibilities of foster parents it may be fairly claimed that environment, in the case of healthy, normal young children, not yet corrupted by evil example, counts for more than heredity. This is not true of those who inherit specific disease, weakness, or defective brains. It is the duty of those who offer children for legal adoption to make known to foster parents any indications or evidences of such deep-seated defects. Even if the child proves sickly and short-lived, there is the profound moral satisfaction of having made its life happy and full of love and hope. But

the dangers and burdens should be fully known and weighed in advance of adoption.

The essential conditions of successful placing out are investigation, careful records, and thorough supervision. The investigation is made first of all by asking the family to make a statement of its ability and desires. A blank schedule is sent to the persons who propose to take children for boarding or adoption, and on this form the parties report their church relations, distance from school, size of farm, occupation, number of persons already in the family, ages, and whether the child is expected to eat with the family or with hired help. From this statement much can be learned about physical surroundings and the object of the correspondents in asking for a ward.

A careful and responsible society will carry this investigation further, by means of questions addressed to several responsible neighbors, with the purpose of estimating the moral fitness of the family.

The third step is a visit of the trained agent of the society to verify impressions, seek other sources of information, and form a judgment. These investigations are continued by later visits of supervision. The inspections should be repeated several times in a year and without previous notice. Monthly reports of progress should be sent by the school-teacher, and quarterly letters from the pastor. All this information should be carefully recorded on cards or in indexed volumes. No society has a moral right to undertake the placing of children unless it is prepared to carry out this plan of investigation and supervision generation after generation. When irresponsible persons open an office, without any capital except a chair, a desk, and an abundance of assurance and promises, and agree with the confiding public to place all children in good homes at an average expense of ten to fifty dollars, they may be set down as either ignorant or knavish. In either case they are not to be trusted, and should be legally restrained from continuing in the traffic.

The general public is little aware how great a responsibility is

assumed by those who attempt to place out homeless children. It is not difficult to find homes for children, because selfish people are always lying in wait for juvenile slaves, and base people are eagerly seeking girls for prostitution. Unscrupulous agents can easily get rid of an illegitimate child and transfer the burden of support and education from those responsible for its existence.

But those who accept this task are answerable for the child until its majority. Experience shows that about half the children need to be replaced, some of them several times, before the right place is found. This costs a great deal of work and money. It is not fair and honest for agents without financial responsibility to collect money for the placing of children, and then abandon their care and leave them to the accidents of selfishness and moral depravity. Such abuses must be brought under legal control. Only competent associations should be licensed by the state, and they should give adequate guarantees for the faithful prosecution of supervision. One such voluntary society in a state is enough for the general work, although some religious denominations may prefer to provide for homeless children of their own faith, and are willing to give the necessary sureties.

In order to enforce the principle of responsibility to the state, it is desirable to point out the perils of injudicious placing-out methods. There is danger that defective and diseased children may be prematurely placed in homes. These are not usually proper subjects for this method. Children of unknown antecedents, scrofulous, consumptive, feeble, may be adopted ignorantly, on a false theory that nurture is everything, heredity nothing, a doctrine too strongly urged by some over-zealous agents of placing-out schemes. Such a representation is unwise and short-sighted, because a few years will reveal its essential falsehood, and there will be a reaction against the society.

Small institutions, local and denominational, have too few wards in families to pay for a travelling agent. Children are

abused, misfits occur and go without correction, and occasionally frightful scandals, as when young girls are led astray. Frequently people will adopt children in order to secure unpaid workers in kitchen or field.

Very bitter complaints have been made in Western states against societies farther East for sending out defective and wayward children, and leaving them without further thought or care. Statutes have been passed to limit this practice and to secure proper supervision. There are some advantages in placing children at a distance and in a new environment, since the foster parents feel less anxious about interference of relatives and the revival of early unfortunate influences. Children over twelve years of age should not be taken far, as only young children can safely be trusted at a distance from the supervising office.

Release. — The wards of a society should not hastily and prematurely be discharged from its oversight and control. They must be protected during minority from abuse and secured an education. But there comes a time when it is safe and wise to relax and suspend supervision, when it is certain that the home is good. Foster parents do not like to be watched and treated with suspicion after giving all reasonable proofs of fitness.

Supervision by Voluntary and Local Child-saving Societies. — In many towns and cities there are orphanages, aid societies, asylums, industrial schools, and homes of the friendless which receive and find homes for homeless children. Supervision and inspection demands a high order of ability, wide travel, energetic labor, by a tactful and experienced expert. It is evident that an association which deals with only a few new cases in a year cannot afford to provide such an agency, and is tempted to depend on letters or irregular visits. It would seem to be wise to combine several of these agencies in one federation for the purpose of maintaining the kind and quality of supervision demanded by experience. A denominational orphanage could easily contract with a strong and central placing-out society for this part of the work, and could receive assurance that families

would be selected of the faith of the parents. Such a federation would tend to educate the agencies of new organizations, to frown down fraudulent and inefficient methods, and to raise the quality of voluntary agencies. A society has already been established in the central states with these aims in mind; but it is rather a conference than a federation with authority and control, and cannot be held responsible for the errors of individual members or visitors.

9. Care of Crippled and Deformed Children. — It is relatively difficult to find homes for those who are unattractive in appearance and unable to render service, or likely to be a burden through life. Even a homely face or reticent manner may long prevent a child from finding a family home. Hence institutional care must be prolonged. Those who are naturally slow or lame must be trained with special patience and skill, to fit them for a competitive career. The deformed lad learns telegraphy, type-setting, or stenography, and becomes self supporting at sixteen years of age. The unprepossessing girl is fed well and groomed for many months, is taught the arts of housekeeping, and easily finds a permanent position in domestic service. With tact, patience, and watchfulness a wise superintendent will finally work off and distribute a large company of this class, and place them in the general community.

Homeless epileptics and feeble-minded children ought not to be placed in families, and their needs will be considered in the part devoted to defectives.

Municipal lodging houses should provide separate buildings, with their own officers, for homeless youth, so that they may not be compelled to mingle with tramps.

10. Support and Control. — There are three chief methods of support of child-saving associations and institutions: private gifts or endowments, taxation, and subsidies to private institutions from public funds.

State Organization of Child-saving. — In some states it has become customary for the state or for local governments, as

counties, to subsidize private establishments, and thus employ them to care for homeless waifs. Certain advantages are claimed for this method by those who favor it. It is said to be economical. The commonwealth is not required to buy and maintain a plant, while the fees of parents and the gifts of patrons relieve the public from a burden of taxation. It is also asserted that the interests of the children are more tenderly and carefully protected and furthered, and that religious and moral influences, in the same direction as those given by parents, are more secure and efficient.

But this system is open to severe criticism. The argument from public economy is questioned, for the tendency of subsidized institutions is more and more to lean on the state, and patrons gradually cease to give with liberality. Why should people give money to an institution to which they already contribute by paying taxes?

The argument from the interests of wards is not sound. The tendency of subsidies is to tempt the institutions to keep the youth year after year for the revenue it brings from the government. We have already seen that children ought to be placed in natural homes as quickly as possible; and the tendency of a subsidy is to restrain and hinder this effort to place out. Furthermore, it is a sound maxim in government that where the state supports it ought to control, in order that a detailed account may be rendered to the public of the use of all funds raised by taxation. The state has no right, directly or covertly, to support a sectarian institution, and in some states it is unconstitutional. The law is sometimes evaded under some pretext, but it is sound and wise. By proper care as good treatment can be secured by the officers of the state as by private associations, and the intervention of the voluntary organization is unnecessary.

If a state is so unwise as to adopt the subsidy scheme, and depend on private agencies for the performance of a public duty, then it should regulate these agents and compel a full discharge of contractual obligations. The payment of subsidies should be

for services actually rendered, and should not be in a lump sum, to be used at the discretion of the society. The payment should be made for each child separately, and never enough to cover entirely the cost of maintenance; much less should a profit be possible. State boards should be legally required to secure itemized reports from each subsidized institution, and should make administrative rules in relation to the length of time children may be held back from natural family life. Other rules should regulate methods of placing out, inspection, and supervision.

Governmental Systems. — Public sentiment is rapidly tending to require legal prohibition of confining children in poorhouses. In some states the local governments, as counties, provide separate homes, under the care of matrons. Here arises a danger: unless the number of children is large the per capita cost is relatively high, and there is a great temptation to retain the wards too long in order to keep up the numbers and reduce the average cost. It is difficult and expensive to provide a placing-out organization for many counties, and if each political unit is left to go its own way this vital matter will be neglected. The logical and appropriate course in a state where there are many such establishments is to bring them all under control of the state board and provide a state agent to select and supervise family homes, and also to require the local institutions by law to disperse their wards by adoption, apprenticing, or boarding out.

In other states the law forbids local authorities to send normal children to poorhouses, and maintains a central school for their temporary care and for administration. If parents, relatives, churches, orphanages, and private associations fail to provide for homeless children, the commonwealth assumes their care. At the state school these little ones are sheltered in cottages, each under the direction of a matron, while a common school, a dining room, and a chapel are used by all. The institution has an agent who travels over the state in the interest of the wards, and transfers them to selected homes as rapidly as these can be found. In

each county a local resident agent is appointed to coöperate with the state institutions for dependent and delinquent children. All dependent children under twelve years and over six months of age become wards of the state by being legally committed through the courts, either to the state school or to incorporated charitable societies. During minority they are protected by this shield of guardianship.

Auxiliaries to this system, in its complete form, are institutions for the feeble-minded and epileptics, with industrial schools for wayward boys and girls. Ill-treated children are protected by law, and those who can receive benefit from medical and surgical treatment are received at the state school. The importation of children from other states is forbidden, or restricted and regulated. Factory laws and systems of inspection defend growing children from being used up in factory labor, and other statutes guard against criminal associations and enticements from saloons. Parental responsibility is enforced by compulsory education and truant officers.

The state encourages private charities, but does not subsidize them or form financial connections with them, requires them to become incorporated, and subjects them to supervision by the state board.

While each commonwealth carries out these principles in a different way, and adds to the range of experiment in this field, the working of these ideas may be observed in Massachusetts, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and elsewhere. In the judgment of the writer, Michigan is not only the pioneer in most advanced lines, but, on the whole, has the best equipment.

The beneficent tendency of a complete state system, as contrasted with a subsidy system, may be illustrated by the following figures. In Michigan, in 1874, the date of the establishment of the state public school, there was a dependent child to each 2224 of the population, and in 1890 only one dependent child to 12,500 of the population; and yet population had increased 87 per cent, and cities had increased in density, while child

dependence decreased 400 per cent. In 1874 the cost of 600 children to the counties was about $60,000. If the same relative number had to be supported in 1900, the cost would have been $112,400. The contrast with subsidy states, like New York and California, during the same period is startling.

State control over private institutions is necessary to secure the rights and interests of the dependents and of the public. Frequent examination should be made in relation to sanitary and other conditions, and continuance of work under the direction of the society should be conditioned on annual approval by the state board. Mr. Letchworth declares that "power should be lodged in a central authority to transfer inmates from one institution to another, in order to perfect and maintain classifications; to remove juvenile offenders from institutions and place them in family care during good conduct; also to remove from institutional care and to place permanently in homes all children suited to family life." While some of these regulations apply more directly to local public institutions, the same general regulations, in the last resort, must be applied to negligent private associations.

CHAPTER VIII.

MEDICAL CHARITIES.

We are here to consider those aspects of medical charity in respect to which the general public is competent to form an intelligent judgment of policy and results, and in respect to which they are called upon to act, either as patrons or as voting citizens. The purely professional questions, medical, surgical, and nursing, cannot be discussed by a layman. Where expert opinions form the basis for social judgment and action, we aim to use competent medical authorities.

1. **Social Function and Service.** — The most direct and obvious end of medical charity, and its primary inspiration, is relief of distress of the dependent poor. But on the way to promote this end many incidental advantages accrue to society. Economically, the public derives great advantage from the prevention of loss of socially valuable human life, energy, training, and power of self support. It costs wealth to rear a productive laborer to adult life, and prolonged sickness or lameness means a loss to all. Working people are restored to industrial pursuits by medical and surgical skill, and thus enabled to maintain their family, to produce goods and perform services, instead of making drafts on the resources of the community as recipients of alms. Their acquired skill is maintained for a prolonged period; and this is social wealth.

Medical science is advanced by the clinical experience and observation of public hospitals. Since teaching is a feature of the best institutions, physicians of a higher class are attracted, improvements are made, and there is so much more medical skill and training of nurses, from which persons of all classes derive

benefit. The medical profession receives much of its technical preparation in the service of the poor, in hospitals and dispensaries.

This professional experience is of course directly helpful to physicians. Egoistic motives mingle with those of public spirit; and this fact is at once a help and a peril. For while society is aided by securing superior skill, egoism may lead some men to forget the interest of the community in the keen desire to promote their own practice, prestige, and fame.

The principle of mutual insurance enters wherever charity establishes institutions of medical relief. No man knows at what moment he may be stricken down by accident or disease, and become dependent on hospital care. Many thousands of salaried and professional people would, after a few months of enforced idleness, be at the end of their resources.

Medical charity is a means of diffusing information about hygiene and sanitation. Organized medical charity protects public health where there is exposure to communicable diseases, as scarlet fever, measles, smallpox, diphtheria, yellow fever, cholera, and venereal maladies. If the indigent sick were left without public care under medical direction and control, every citizen and every household would be exposed to danger.

Medical relief is, in general, less exposed to abuse than many other forms of charity. It is true that sickness is sometimes feigned. Mutual benefit associations, which pay sick benefits to members, are compelled to visit and investigate all cases, and to resist false claims. It is a common trick of impostors to rest their appeal on the pretended sickness of some member of the family. Mutilation is sometimes, though rarely, practised, to excite sympathy. A physician can usually detect actual fraud. It is rare that any person will lie in bed very long in order to receive the stipend of temporary and partial relief. Still more rarely do people make themselves really ill with set purpose to establish a claim upon charity.

It is admitted that many persons will apply for medical advice at dispensaries and hospitals, who will not beg for any other

form of aid; and many persons who are able to pay will accept gratuitous service of physicians, nurses, and hospitals. Methods of restricting this abuse, which is not so frequent as is often supposed, will be discussed at a later point. On the whole, medical charity is comparatively free from such abuses. There are multitudes who are quite willing to neglect industry and temperance, and so qualify themselves for alms, but seldom will a man maim himself for life or wilfully take typhoid fever in order to find a legal home in a poorhouse or infirmary.

The Socialists, and some others who lean toward their theory, have proposed to make all medical relief a public charge; so that all, rich and poor, would be treated by medical officers and nursed in hospitals, just as they are all now served with light in the streets, with scavenger and sewerage service.

If one shrinks from this proposition, let him remember that it is apparently merely a question of degree, since society has already accepted the principle in certain classes of cases. Municipal medical authorities not only offer their aid in times of epidemic, but they go farther, and compel citizens to come under their control. The staff of the board of health enters the dwelling where scarlet fever is even suspected, obliges the family physician to make known dangerous places, and the door of the dwelling is placarded although the very industry which furnishes a livelihood is thereby suspended. The person afflicted with the smallpox must be taken to the public pest-house if his surroundings require that course.

In any case, hospitals and dispensaries should be required to make reports to an administrative board as a guide to officers of health, and for information in relation to the extent and causes of disease in various localities. To this extent all must admit medical relief should be socialized.

2. Outdoor Medical Relief. — A very general custom prevails in this country of furnishing advice and medicines to the destitute in their homes. This form of legal relief is administered by town and county authorities, who appoint physicians for the pur-

pose. If the poor law of the state does not expressly require such relief it is usually optional with the local authorities. The social demand for this kind of aid is evident enough, since all see that the sick poor are instantly helpless, and the income from daily labor is cut off when the breadwinner is ill. In the rural communities the poor's doctor may be required to serve in the almshouse as well as in destitute families, while in cities a considerable number of physicians may be necessary simply to visit homes. Medicines are furnished either by the physician or by druggists on his prescription, according to the nature of the contract.

Dangers and Abuses. — A stingy policy may be uneconomical if it give inadequate and incompetent service by making a hard bargain in respect to medicines or offer a salary only high enough to attract quacks. The spoils system of political selection has not left this field of charity without injury, and much suffering and many deaths result from the heartless jobbery and dishonesty of this system.

Fledgling gratuitous service of young doctors, who are willing to accept the position practically for nothing, and in hope of gaining skill and reputation, is frequently a cruelty.

Regulative Maxims. — Adequate compensation is necessary to secure competent physicians. Appointments should be made on the nomination of a board of health, of a reputable medical society, or of a commission; and none but graduates of genuine medical schools should be eligible. The methods and results should be supervised by competent medical men.

3. The Charity Hospital. — Hospitals grew out of the charitable impulses of the community, and still continue to find much of their support in that motive. But experience with charity has shown that hospitals offer many advantages in many forms of disease or surgical work for persons of all classes, and they are more generally used than formerly on the recommendation of family physicians.

4. Specialization. — The county infirmary, which is con-

nected with the poorhouse, is a general hospital, and is compelled to treat all forms of ailments of the inmates. Sometimes a pest-house is erected on the county farm, not very remote from the principal establishment. Paupers require a great deal of nursing and medical attention, as they are so generally weak and diseased.

The municipal hospital is the urban counterpart of the county infirmary. In large towns this institution may have distinct buildings or wards for special classes of patients; as for cancer patients, and for those afflicted with venereal diseases, erysipelas, and consumption. This partial specialization must be carried further with smallpox or scarlet fever, and a separate house is needed to isolate those who are likely to communicate these diseases.

Hospitals for contagious and infectious diseases are demanded by the conditions of urban life. As the communicable character of tuberculosis is more fully recognized by the public as well as by the medical profession, the movement to establish special country homes and colonies in the South, or in any suitable locality, gains strength. Patients afflicted with consumption are a source of peril to others in ordinary hospital wards and in the homes of the poor in congested tenements.

Hospitals for the treatment of venereal diseases are demanded by enlightened humanity and by public safety; as a means of rescuing the unfortunate who wish to reform, an asylum for the repentant, girl or man, and as the means of checking the ravages of a terrible malady which attacks the innocent as well as the guilty, and threatens the foundations of national life.

All hospitals for infectious and contagious diseases should be free and under public control. A fee would keep many from entering whose treatment is desirable as a protection to the community.

Separate buildings are very desirable for cancerous patients, because the odor from this disease is intolerable.

Emergency hospitals are erected near the centres of traffic and

travel in order to give immediate shelter and aid to the sick and injured, those suffering from serious wounds and sunstroke, and who cannot be carried a long distance in an ambulance without danger.

Maternity hospitals are required to meet the needs of the poor in cities, where the crowded dwellings are utterly unfit for the treatment of mothers in their critical hour. Provision is made in special wards of general hospitals, or county asylums, or in separate institutions.

Orthopedic hospitals serve a highly useful purpose by correcting deformities of growing children, and thus fitting cripples for self support. Children's hospitals are established for the treatment of ordinary maladies, and for the isolation of infectious cases.

This process of specialization begins in a general hospital by setting apart wards, floors, or even separate buildings for particular classes of disease. As cities grow in population and wealth, there is a tendency to erect different hospitals, with special adaptation in structure and management, to the peculiar needs of various kinds of patients.

5. Financial Basis and Management of Charity Hospitals. — The modes of support are: public, as county and municipal hospitals; or private, those supported by endowments of the rich or by the gifts of many contributors, together with income from pay patients. Many general hospitals have a limited number of free beds, which are furnished and maintained at the cost of individuals, societies, or endowments.

Private hospitals are occasionally supported, in part, by subsidies from public funds. In such cases the correct method is to pay out of the poor fund by contract at a specific rate for the actual number of patients who are a public charge, and to count the number of days of treatment. It is not wise to agree to pay a fixed sum per year without regard to the actual service rendered. The best way is for the community to own its hospitals.

Administration. — There are four departments of adminis-

tration of a hospital: business, housekeeping, medical and surgical treatment, and nursing, and all these must be unified and harmonized for successful and economic action.

The board of control, composed of trustees or directors, is the body which represents the general policy and interest of the founders or of the public. The board of a public hospital should be composed of appointed persons, who serve for honor and without pay. It is the function of such a board to act as representatives of the public in the determination of a general policy, the appointment of a competent and responsible superintendent, the observation of management, the control of accounts and reports, and the judgment and publication of results. These activities are legislative, judicial, financial, and executive, but not administrative. A board should not seek to administer details. Such an attempt would cripple the superintendent, drive away a competent man, and require a salaried board of persons who give their whole strength to the institution, and who in any case must waste time in debate over petty details which they cannot all know.

Among the managers or trustees should be representatives of the business talent, medical knowledge, feminine taste, tact, and gentleness, and liberality of the supporting association or community.

The superintendent should be capable of administering the affairs of the kind of hospital over which he is placed, and should have power corresponding to his responsibility. Should he be a physician or a layman? There is much controversy over this question. In favor of professional medical training it is urged that only a physician is capable of directing an institution whose purpose is healing. In favor of the layman it is said that the office is one which requires more business experience than a professional man is likely to possess; that buying materials, care of buildings, employment of servants, payment of wages, and collecting fees do not require medical skill, but do require business qualities and experience. It is feared that a medical superin-

tendent will be sorely tempted to use his position to build up a private practice, or at least to concentrate his interest and attention upon the medical work rather than the financial side. Feelings of suspicion and rivalry are more likely to arise even where the official is careful to avoid cause of offence. It is quite possible to intrust the professional details to young house physicians, who are under control of a board of older physicians, while individual cases are best treated by experienced physicians called in by the patients or supplied by the authorities. In some institutions the board of trustees appoint a business manager for direction of accounts and housekeeping, and a medical superintendent for the control of professional work, both officers being coördinate in rank, and each independent in his sphere.

The medical assistants are young members of the profession, called internes, and with these are the nurses. The modes of their appointment vary in different places. It seems desirable that the internes should be appointed by the medical board or superintendent, and the household corps by the superintendent. The merit system should govern all appointments in public establishments. The superintendent, if a medical man, should be chosen on the basis of an academic diploma and previous training in a subordinate position, and on the recommendation of a medical commission. The assistants should be admitted to probation only after written and oral examination set by a non-partisan board, should be secure in their positions while they give satisfaction, and should be graded and promoted for efficiency and fidelity.

Since the hospital is not only a house of healing and a business establishment, but also a home, at least temporarily, for the sick and for the staff, it should be managed with the sense of order, neatness, cleanliness, and quiet which no one but a capable woman can secure.

A competent medical staff is the most essential factor of successful management. This corps will be appointed by the directors, or, in a public institution, by the designated legal authority. In any case they must be men of eminence in their

calling. Experience proves that the best talent can be secured on condition that clinical teaching is connected with the visits of physicians in charity hospitals.

Records. — The records and reports of hospitals should show the average daily number of patients, the whole number of different patients, the average length of time patients are kept, and the ratio of deaths to the whole number disposed of. Publicity of accounts and records is required for the protection of patients, patrons, and the public.

6. Coöperation of Private Charity. — Public medical relief tends to be somewhat hasty, mechanical, and general, fitted to a rather slow average method. Private charity can supplement public agents in many ways, both in hospitals and in outdoor medical relief. Delicacies are provided by societies of benevolent women, as special articles of food, dainties to tempt appetite, flowers, and fruit. Personal visits cheer the patients and bring news of the family at home to the temporary exile, and anxieties are relieved by attention to those in need of aid. Religious services are held in hospitals by the young people of the churches. All such activities must be under the strict control of the superintendent, in order that the sick may not be annoyed and injured by zealous and uninstructed persons. Voluntary associations provide utensils and instruments and furniture for sick persons. Spectacles are furnished to meet the prescriptions of oculists; trusses and artificial limbs make industry possible. Bedding, sheets, pillow cases, ice boxes, bags, towels, thermometers, bedpans, wheel chairs, bathtubs, are frequently required by the situation of a poor family, yet beyond their means. During the illness of a mother the household often is thrown into confusion and distress, children are neglected; and there the gentle and tactful hand of a trained visitor is a gracious help. Poor women at childbirth often secure from their more fortunate sisters the care of a nurse, freedom from work and anxiety, clothing for the babe, and those kind attentions which help to restore her to strength.

7. Care of Convalescents. — A man who has been severely ill from fever is not able to go back to work the next day after the physician and hospital have done their part. He is emaciated, and staggers in his walk; the muscles are not rebuilt; the nerves are irritable; the heart is weak. People of means under these circumstances go to the seashore or country and gather up their energies before they grapple with duties of office or sanctum. Poor men often inflict on themselves lasting injury by going back to work before the process of restoration is complete. Only of recent years has public attention been called to this branch of charitable relief; and it demands liberal gifts and effective organization.

8. Dispensaries and Out-Patients. — Abundant experience in Europe and America has shown the high value of medical advice and remedies in connection with dispensaries and hospitals. Many indigent persons are able to walk to the office of physicians at a hospital who do not need to be boarded away from home, and yet cannot pay for the counsel and medicines which are necessary to restore them to industrial efficiency. Neglected disease may be spread through a neighborhood, and the health of the community be jeopardized. It is no small advantage to members of the medical profession to have the varied clinical experience which a dispensary affords.

Does the free dispensary injure the practice of regular physicians by providing gratuitous care to many who would be able to pay for it? This question is the centre of a controversy, and the evidence is contradictory. It has been proved that under careless methods many accept free aid who are able to pay, and to this extent there is ground for complaint. On the other hand, physicians of high rank actually compete for the chance of practice in this field, since it increases their skill and reputation, and offers clinical opportunities to their students.

It has been strongly asserted, as an objection to the management of free dispensaries, that they pauperize many persons who accept medical assistance without an equivalent. This contro-

versy has led to investigations, with conflicting results, interpretations, and conclusions. Out of thirty-five thousand cases in New York City the Charity Organization Society investigated fifteen hundred, of whom one fourth were able to pay, one fourth gave wrong addresses and could not be found, and one half were probably in actual need of gratuitous help.

The abuse of this form of medical charity is limited by the fact that few persons are tempted to become sick in order to receive advice; and the physicians can detect imposture. The crowd at the dispensary is often so disagreeable, and the waiting so uncomfortable, that few persons will submit to the conditions unless they are driven by necessity.

A thorough investigation of the cases would tend to exclude persons who have means to pay. But there are difficulties in the way of such investigation. Patients who require instant relief or who are in acute distress cannot be put off pending investigation. Then the process of inquiry costs labor and money, — not a little. The physicians have no time to turn aside from their professional labors to inquire minutely into the pecuniary ability of the patients who throng the office and wait in pain or weakness for their help.

Some protection against abuse is found in the exaction of a small fee, of about ten cents, which is paid for medicines; but physicians have as good a right to claim a share of this fee as druggists, unless we set the clinical practice over against the labor and time. Perhaps a further check on fraud might be found in investigations by the Charity Organization Society of all suspected cases, and of one in twenty of the other cases taken at random. The fear of detection would hinder imposition on the part of those who are competent to pay.

All dispensaries should publish carefully analyzed reports, with material for judgments on all professional and social matters of interest.

The New York law (1899) gives its state board of charities power to regulate dispensaries, and the rules of that board require

the posting of a notice announcing the penalty for obtaining medical or surgical treatment on false pretences. The applicant must make a statement of his income, and the registrar is required to investigate doubtful cases. The regulations cover the care of the receiving room and clinical instruction.

Provident dispensaries are established on the same principle as other forms of coöperation and mutual benefit societies. Indeed, the extension of lodges and associations which offer medicines, nursing, and medical attendance as "sick benefits" to their contributing members, is a desirable substitute for the free dispensary, so far as the very poor can find means to meet the dues. Something may be hoped from the growing custom of great factories and mills, shops, and railroads, which collect a small sum from employees each week, add a certain contribution, and provide free medical service to all. We have not in this country come within sight of introducing the German government insurance for all wage-workers. But by voluntary associations we may hope to extend the custom of employing physicians by the year for groups of families, not merely to treat the disabled but even to teach the clients how to avoid preventable diseases. The tendency of business to concentration in corporations is favorable to the introduction and permanent maintenance of such schemes. Individual manufacturers and small firms are not sure enough of the future to take up and carry out plans of relief which involve the collection and holding of considerable sums of benefit funds; and the working-men are not so likely to trust them as solid and enduring corporations, whose continuity of life does not depend on the conduct or presence of any particular person. The most substantial corporations, after all, are those of municipalities and commonwealths; and the citizen always has a claim on these, while his connection with particular firms or companies is accidental. This argument points to government sick insurance. The functions of boards of health may be extended to cover part of this field.

9. The Training and Service of Nurses. — Trained nurses are

essential to the efficiency of hospitals and to medical and surgical treatment of the poor in their homes. The training schools for nurses originated in charity hospitals. They have prepared and sent out missionaries of health into many communities. A new and honorable profession has been opened to self-supporting women. In consequence of this charity those who are rich can enjoy the aid of efficient attendants in illness, and thus they owe it a debt.

Physicians and surgeons can treat patients with far greater precision and certainty of results than was possible in the former days of ignorant, stupid, and cheap nurses of the "Sairey Gamp" pattern. Women trained to observe carefully, to use thermometers and other instruments, to keep exact and faithful records, and to carry out instructions intelligently, furnish a scientific basis for the study and treatment of disease.

Hospitals which enjoy the service of skilled nurses become more popular with the public, draw to it more pay patients, attract the clients of physicians, and in many ways increase the income of the institutions they so efficiently serve. For these reasons hospital boards can afford to deal generously with training schools and nurses.

Support of Nurses in Charity Work. — Voluntary service is attracting attention. Either as members of religious guilds, or by agreements among the graduates of particular schools, young women are found willing to consecrate a week or more of each year to gratuitous care of the poor in their homes. This is very beautiful and useful, but it is necessarily limited in steadiness, reliability, and extent. Besides, that is a very cheap philanthropy which is willing to lay an undue share of the burden on the devoted young persons who represent a church, bring honor to its charity, and make all the sacrifices.

Another method is becoming common in America: trained nurses are paid wages or salary by a voluntary association, and are expected to support themselves and be independent. If the families assisted are able to pay a part of the expense, this

income goes to enlarge the work of the society among the indigent. This form of support is most acceptable to many American women, who desire to retain their personal independence and be free to make changes in their life plans without the embarrassment of vows or contracts. It is the natural form of organization for a non-sectarian association.

Sisterhoods and Orders. — There are several sisterhoods and orders devoted to this form of philanthropy. The deaconesses or sisters give their whole time to the service, without salaries, wages, or fees, except pocket money. They are supported by funds of the community to which they attach themselves, are cared for in sickness, and are provided with a home in old age. Pay patients supply part of the funds, their fees going to the treasury of the order, or mother house, and not to the individual nurse. This method of support is common in Europe almost entirely with religious societies of various denominations. The candidates are not received into full membership until they have been tried in a period of probation and training, and then they either take vows for life or seriously choose this for a vocation without vows.

Pension Funds. — It seems highly desirable, considering the value of the service to society, the constant exposure to contagious disease, the exhausting nature of the employment, and the uncertainty and irregularity of employment, that a pension fund should be established for sick, disabled, and aged nurses. The English Royal National Pension Fund furnishes an admirable example. To avoid danger of neglect and insure economy on the part of nurses who depend on this fund, it might be required of those who are earning wages that they make quarterly payments of moderate sums, on the principle of insurance against sickness and old age. The endowment would be a contribution of society in recompense for services of a public nature.

Training School for Nurses. — The candidate for instruction should be a mature woman of vigorous health and more than average strength, with at least a high school education, and some

practical experience in cooking and housekeeping. She must have steady nerves, tact, and considerable powers of endurance.

The training school must be connected with a well-equipped hospital, which has a sufficient variety of medical and surgical cases; and provision must also be made for dealing with obstetrical patients. The school should be a distinct department, with an organization of its own, although it may be under the general control of the hospital board. The immediate direction of the pupils should be with the superintendent of the school, who is herself a trained nurse, and who is endowed with the qualities of an executive officer.

Very necessary is a suitable and comfortable home for the pupils, outside of the hospital. The weary apprentice student should be free from the harrowing sights, the unpleasant sounds and odors of the sick room each day, long enough to rest and gain the cheerfulness and energy which are required by her exacting and exhausting task. Young women of the best type cannot be induced to submit to the miseries and discomforts of unfit lodgings. If this matter is neglected, only those of defective education and low standards of taste can be secured as candidates.

The course of instruction, given by means of text-books, lectures, and clinical practice, includes the theory of the professional art of a nurse. The final examinations may be given, and certificates or diplomas awarded, by a committee or board of lecturers, composed of medical men and the superintendent of the school.

The physician or surgeon has entire control of the treatment of each individual patient, and his orders and prescriptions are the law of the nurse; but the superintendent of the pupils should have control of all discipline, and all failures should be reported to her by the physicians. Any interference with her power is fatal to the good order of the house.

District Nursing is an important branch of social service. The trained nurses not only personally attend patients, but also, and

chiefly, instruct the members of the families to take care of each other. Parents cannot be taught the arts of hygiene merely by tracts, books, and lectures. They require exemplification before their eyes and in their own homes. To combat the evils of "dirt, drink, diet, damp, draughts, and drains," the advice and example of a trained visitor are of the highest value. Florence Nightingale, the apostle of nurses, says, "In all departments of life there is no apprenticeship except in the workshops." It would be impossible, and it is undesirable, to remove all the indigent sick to hospitals. Most cases can be treated better in their homes and by members of the family, if they are taught and shown how to do it.

Perils and Safeguards. — We have elsewhere considered the danger of pauperizing patients by free service. Another evil accompanies philanthropic nursing like a shadow: the authorization of incompetent persons by associations and city missionary societies. There is a real danger in the mixture of two callings, that of Bible readers and that of district nurses. Incompetence will bring injury and reproach upon religion. If a deaconess loses a patient by forgetfulness in critical hours, all her zeal in proselyting or converting will only add to the dislike against the church which she represents. Devotion, skill, success, gentleness, sacrifice, humanity in all its finest expressions, will open the way to still higher ministries. It would be more exact to say that these qualities speak distinctly the highest message. It is the duty, as it is the interest, of all religious associations to send none but thoroughly trained and reliable nurses to represent them in the sickrooms. Competent physicians will not tolerate or respect any other kind; and it is the physician who gives reputation to the work of the nurses.

One evil of no small magnitude is the overworking of nurses in hospitals and outside. Pupil nurses should not be on duty more than eight hours in one day, for they need time for rest, recreation, and study.

The spoils system has not left the sacred ministry of hospitals

untouched by its foul fingers. Miss Dock has told of the trial and the triumph: "These are the schools which, by the courage and goodness of women preëminently, have been affixed to those hospitals that need them most and want them least, the city or county hospitals, where local politics grow at the expense of the neglected sick poor, in all ugliness, contemptuous of disinterested work, and hating to be interfered with. Individual ability and determination alone have made it possible to force the purifying influence of the training school into these places; for it may safely be asserted that in no instance has the political element of any municipal hospital ever voluntarily introduced reform into the nursing, or yielded to it save on irresistible pressure brought to bear from outside by those who had no political capital to make, who feared no one, and who were determined to succeed."

10. First Aid to the Sick and Injured. — Societies are organized for the study of the best methods of meeting emergencies in case of wounds, shocks, sunstroke, poison, in situations where a physician cannot at once be summoned. Herbert Spencer, so hostile and cold toward many forms of organized charity, approves this method of philanthropy. They are helpful to all citizens, but are especially useful among the poor. Policemen and firemen should receive systematic training to prepare them to meet emergencies of this kind. Any young physician, with some leisure and few patients, might advertise himself in an honorable way and gratify his humane feelings, by organizing boys' clubs, miners, dock workers, hod carriers, and other groups of persons, into associations for prompt assistance in emergencies.

CHAPTER IX.

VOLUNTARY CHARITY OF INDIVIDUALS AND OF ASSOCIATIONS.

1. Principles of Division of Labor between Public and Private Charity. — Public relief is relatively preferable when demanded by public opinion as the duty of the community, when it can be reduced to routine, and when the functions of administrators can be formulated in laws or regulative rules.

Private relief is specially called for where experiments are to be tried and pioneer work is to be done; where public opinion requires education by example of new methods; where the mechanical routine methods of public relief need to be supplemented by personal service, by individual gifts or helps of a peculiar kind; where public provision is totally lacking or obviously inadequate for relief and support; where particular groups are more directly reponsible for certain classes of persons, as religious denominations, races, or neighborhoods; where there is special danger of pauperization by public relief; where the sense of degradation occasioned by dependence upon public help is unusual, mental distress may be inhumanly aggravated, and the spirit of self-help be broken.

2. Individual Charity. — The personal gift or service is most direct, human, and natural. In personal charity the relation may be made most like that of the family or of neighborly friendship. The best help is that which is rendered as a social act between real friends. Assistance offered with the evident purpose of humiliating the recipient and of exalting the patron is not of charity, but of pride; it curses him who gives and him who takes; and it is not the gentle dew from heaven, but poisonous exhalation from the lowlands of selfishness. Friendly help

in hours of trial does not degrade either party. Only noble natures can give aid nobly, and then goodness is beautiful and fruitful.

Individual charity is exposed to perils of its own. The act of benevolence may be private and hidden, but the effects are certain to become public and social. In almsgiving at the door or on the street lies one of the chief causes of vagrancy and low imposture. He who gives blindly, ignorantly, and thoughtlessly is as culpable as one who fires a gun into a crowd. There are tramps because so many people give without investigation and without coöperation. In cities it is more difficult than in rural communities to learn the actual needs of those who beg. No citizen has a moral right to give to strangers without using the mediation of some bureau of information, like those of the Charity Organization Society, which has records and means of investigating and testing all applicants.

Fields of individual benevolence are many and wide. The circle of friends and neighbors among the poor should be wide enough to include some less fortunate than ourselves. Every prosperous person should have real acquaintances among the Have-Nots, and know them all the year around, and care for them, and have their confidence, and learn from them. Often a loan with counsel is better than a gift. The best help to the depressed is fellowship in thought, wisdom, and sympathy.

The circle may be widened by service as a friendly visitor, as missionary, or teacher in a Sunday-school. Frequently is it true that those who have little surplus income, and themselves feel the pressure of narrow circumstances, can best impart aid to suffering and discouraged neighbors, a lift that is worth more than gold. There is work for all who are willing to labor.

Large sums, which only rich persons can give, are most useful in establishing and endowing institutions, as hospitals, dispensaries, schools, and libraries. In experimental charity, preventive schemes, and educational beneficence, individual munificence finds its safest field. Large communities are not easily led to

consider swiftly changing conditions and needs; while far-seeing business men, if they give study to our problems, or take expert advice, may carry the weight of public tasks until the voters are educated to appreciate the need and the remedy. Examples are numerous and increasing: the Peabody Fund, for housing the poor and for educating the negroes; the Slater Fund; the Pratt, Drexel, Cooper, and Armour Institutes. The societies for preventing cruelty to animals and children, the societies for aiding discharged prisoners, kindergartens, day nurseries, manual training and trade schools, must generally be started and sustained by individual givers.

3. Benevolent Associations; Adaptations to the Situation. — The requirements of destitution are usually too great for the resources of individual beneficence. Combination of forces and means makes possible enterprises which would fail if they rested on a few persons. There are some kind persons who can give money, but not service; while others have time and strength and disposition to visit, but have limited wealth. An association brings these varied talents together. A group or a community can unite for a charitable purpose, if ecclesiastical tests are set aside.

A permanent and continuous service and policy are practicable only by means of an association which is strong enough to command public confidence. Legal incorporation is frequently required in order to secure and retain title to real property or endowments. The rich patron may organize an incorporated association to administer his charity after he is dead.

The situation in many cities demands a discriminating and versatile agency to supplement the relief given by public officials. Many indigent persons would suffer even to starvation or suicide, rather than be compelled to associate with paupers in a public office, have their social failure bruited abroad, and their names recorded in a public register as weaklings. Self-respect is social wealth, and it may be preserved by delicate and private offer of loans or other temporary aid.

The usual mode of organization includes the formation of a voluntary association composed of members who contribute a certain minimum fee or contribution. This general body, at an annual election, chooses a board of directors. This board of directors usually have an executive committee, a financial committee, and various standing committees on special branches of work. A voluntary force of helpers, hardest of all to secure and keep at good work, is required where friendly, personal service is called for. The business direction is assigned to persons of special training; and these must have a salary, if the duty requires all their time. In small communities all offices may be filled without salaries.

Fields of Operation. — All kinds of philanthropic activity are carried on by such associations: relief of the poor in their homes; indoor relief in almshouses or asylums; homes for dependent, crippled, and defective children; homes for the destitute and friendless aged, and for defectives who are not cared for by the commonwealth; aid to the unemployed; medical charity, hospitals, nursing, dispensaries; coöperation in charity organization, state conferences, and national societies.

Perils. — Such associations are so easily formed that there is a temptation to multiply them unduly. There are only too many professional philanthropists who "promote" societies which, after they are started, must forever after be supported in order to save the credit of the community. Thus it happens that several societies exist in the same field and compete for patronage, while various forms of need are neglected.

Relatively less deserving societies often absorb the available charity resources of the community by their loud and persistent advertising and solicitation. The expenses of management are out of proportion to the volume of work actually accomplished. Pauperism is encouraged in order to prove to the benevolent and unsuspecting public that there is a need for the society, and especially for its secretary, who has a salary. The promoters of a charity may be quite as desirous of securing a respectable and

lucrative position for some broken-down citizen as relief for a group of destitute persons. Occasionally the most distinct achievement of the association is the payment of an unearned salary to an incompetent officer.

Private benevolent associations sometimes attempt to carry on a work with inadequate income; and the result is imperfect care, wasteful methods, injury of the poor, disgust of the public. When charity comes to be recognized as having a basis in social science, and as requiring the highest gifts of inventiveness and pedagogical tact, it will be placed in more competent hands, and the officers will be more highly honored and paid.

4. Financial Principles. — There are legitimate methods of securing support. Full and candid publication of all that the patrons and supporters ought to know in order to form a judgment of the need, extent, and results of administration is required by honesty and sound financial policy. These reports should be attractive in form and style, though not extravagant in cost. The use of photographic illustrations is valuable when used with skill. All regular means of public communication may be employed for securing attention, as meetings, illustrated lectures, dicussions in clubs, circulars, personal letters, newspaper and pulpit notices.

The directory of charities should be compiled and published once a year, if practicable, by a representative committee of the Charity Organization Society, and not by the interested agents of the several benevolent associations; and this directory should contain a careful and reliable statement of the objects, resources, official staff, banker, income, expenditures, and other items which enable the public to act intelligently in supporting and using the agency.

The only unobjectionable and the most effective method of securing means of support is to present all the facts to the public, in all legitimate ways, and then ask people for contributions.

There are also illegitimate and demoralizing schemes. Any method fails, however it may for a time draw out money, when

it fails to educate the community in genuine charity, sound principles of work, and when it appeals to low and unworthy motives. There always remains a question and a scruple about using for charity the funds which come from the proceeds of entertainments, plays, and balls. A more refined age, with a keener sense of pathos and humor, and a more vivid imagination, may come to read with pain the accounts of the shocking contrasts between the gay and brilliant displays of the so-called "charity ball" and the tolerated miseries which the fund is intended to relieve. Sorrow and shame should not thus be associated with the mocking images of splendor, extravagance, and ostentatious luxury. Let the occasion of mirth justify itself, but never be masked as a pretence of heaven-born charity. The indirect methods are often so costly that the expenses swallow up the income. The permanent dignity and value of the charity depend, not only on the use made of the income, but also on the motives to which appeal is made in securing it.

While something very plausible may be urged, in our present defective civilization, in favor of such questionable modes, absolutely nothing can be argued in favor of raising money by gambling, lotteries, and kindred devices. Gambling habits are already among the chief causes of pauperism and crime, and they need no stimulation from the example of fashionable sets and reputable church people.

5. Charity Aspect of Social Settlements. — The residents of settlements naturally and properly object to classifying settlements among "philanthropies" and "charities," on account of the popular ideas connected with these offensive words. The settlement does not work specifically for the defective and the dissolute, but rather more for the furtherance of normal life among self-respecting and self-supporting people, who scorn dependence and ask only for justice. Here we have to do, not with proud patronage of superiors toward inferiors, but a sincere and democratic sharing and fellowship in the best things of life among the neighbors of a given locality. The leaders wish to

be thought of in this way. If the home should come to be regarded as a charity, only the depraved and defeated would visit it, and the residents themselves would be unfitted, subjectively, for their peculiar task, by the narrowing of their aims to mere rescue and relief of persons in the lowest stratum of society.

And yet, fellowship with a neighborhood involves relief of suffering, direct and indirect, since all classes of neighbors are considered, and none are rejected. So we find, as a matter of fact, that the settlements are frequently the centres of the wisest movements of rational charity. Settlement residents are in the best possible position to study the facts, the causes, and the deep effects of poverty, distress, and of philanthropic methods. Coöperation with all available agencies of the community is a fundamental principle of the movement. Hence we find the residents rendering valuable aid to the Charity Organization Society, the agents of public relief, and private charity. They discover instances of distress which others overlook. They bring rich and poor into personal contact, and they train friendly visitors.

6. Ecclesiastical Organization of Charity. — No fast line can be drawn between ecclesiastical and other forms of voluntary benevolence. This is especially true in the United States, where there is no overshadowing state church, and where there are several strong denominations which cheerfully coöperate in philanthropic enterprises of a local nature. Many of the institutions and societies which are set down in statistics as secular, are, in fact, simply associations formed by members of several churches, who desire to work together for the same object.

Denominational and Interdenominational Arrangements for the Support and Control of Philanthropic Works. — Local denominational charity is found in two stages, that of the parish or congregation, and that of the town or city. Churches take up collections for the indigent members of their congregations and missions, and have officers or relief committees to whom the distribution of gifts is intrusted. In the South, where the system

of outdoor public relief is still relatively undeveloped, and the churches are relatively very influential, this form of organization is general and important. In the states where public relief is somewhat lavish, the gifts of congregations is a smaller factor in the beneficence of cities. Those churches and missions which are located among the poor often have very limited funds, while the opulent congregations have in their membership few of the very poor. The burden falls heaviest where there is least ability to bear it. Hence the need of some kind of coöperation.

All the congregations of a particular denomination in a city often combine to establish institutions for children, the aged and infirm, and hospitals. The United Jewish Charities of the great cities are admirable examples of complete organization and system, and they deserve the careful study of Protestant people.

General Denominational. — In some instances a charitable enterprise is too large for the resources of a single community, and the demand for it is very wide. For these reasons we find denominational societies establishing orphanages, child-saving societies, hospitals, homes for invalids and the aged. Funds are solicited from the entire territory, frequently including several states, which is served. The philanthropic educational work and medical service of the home and foreign missionary societies are examples of this class.

Interdenominational, Local. — Many of the non-ecclesiastical benevolent associations are actually composed of the members of churches, and their governing boards and working committees have representatives chosen from the various coöperating churches. The chief reason for selecting this form of organization is that the enterprise is too great for the resources of one denomination in the place, while all acknowledge the obligation. An obvious advantage is that such a society, while earnestly religious, is not suspected of sectarian bias and proselyting motives, and so has more free access, not only to givers, but also to the people who require aid of many kinds. No doubt, a part of the motive is the growing desire of Christians to

manifest real unity of life in some tangible expression which will not compromise them in points on which they conscientiously differ.

Interdenominational, General, State, or National. — Where the philanthropic movement demands vast resources, and the purpose is common to the people of several denominations, this mode of organization is called for as suitable to the situation. We may cite as illustrations: the temporary committees or societies for aiding famine sufferers in Russia or India, as expressions of the spirit of humanity. Movements to aid the negroes to secure schools and reformatories in the South have been promoted in this form.

Orders and Societies. — In the Roman Catholic Church there are brotherhoods and sisterhoods devoted to all forms of charitable service, as hospitals, orphanages, and homes for old people. The members of these orders take vows of celibacy, and consecrate their lives to this labor.

There are also societies for mutual benefit, for visiting the poor, for rescuing children, composed of men and women who do not leave the ordinary occupations of life. The society of St. Vincent de Paul is an association well worth study.

In the Lutheran Church in the United States the associations of deaconesses have been formed on the model of those in Germany connected with the Inner Mission. The women who form these societies do not take vows of celibacy, but they do not become full members until they have passed a period of probation and have resolved to devote years to the service. In the Methodist Episcopal Church a similar movement has grown up.

In other denominations the tendency to form such separate orders is not so strong, and there is a disposition to form a membership of supporters, who employ agents for salaried positions requiring continuous service.

Perils. — The regulative principles of relief methods have been discussed, and may be used here as critical tests. Violations of these principles are followed by serious evils. Mendi-

cancy and hypocrisy are fostered. A hungry person is greatly tempted to lie and profess any faith, and even a variety of creeds each day, if the hope is held out to him of thereby securing food, and especially drink. One tramp declared to a member of my class that gentlemen of his profession often support themselves all winter by "working the missions." This tramp knew one comrade who boasted of having been "saved" about fifty times. Such moral evils arise from neglect of coöperating with the Charity Organization Society. The smallest part of the damage lies in money lost on impostors; and the most serious evil is the hopeless degradation of the recipients, who are encouraged to live by fraud. By using the aid of the Charity Organization Society such abuses are reduced to a minimum.

Religious charity has a great advantage. If wisely conducted, it goes deepest into the spirit. Elizabeth Fry said that "Charity to the soul is the soul of charity." Religion teaches the almsgiver to regard the poor, not as objects of patronage, nor as mere animals who have no other needs than food and warmth; but as brothers, children of the same Divine Father, heirs of the eternal life, capable of endless development in all qualities of humanity. Religious teaching always has been, and ever must be, in the nature of the case, the most profound and enduring motive to beneficent gifts and services. There is no conceivable substitute for it.

7. Endowed Charities; the Demand. — There are relatively permanent needs of old communities which require a secure income. Assuming that some of these wants should be met from the income of private property, and that those who have accumulated large wealth, partly by social permission and help, are under obligation to give back to the community a fair part of their estates at death, it is natural to expect that rich persons should establish funds for charitable uses. Private charity is somewhat impulsive and irregular in action, and the cost of gathering contributions is considerable. Certain classes of persons and certain districts are apt to be forgotten in the ordinary gifts of benevolent people,

since many overlook those whose distresses are hidden in obscure and unfrequented places, and who suffer far away from the common walks of the prosperous. For such reasons it is very convenient and desirable to have large endowments yielding a steady supply for wants of the indigent.

But experience has shown that these endowments are liable to abuses of a grave character. The original direction of the bequest may have been unwise. Or, granting that the primary purpose of the donor was good, the conditions may so change that the income of the fund is no longer required for the purpose designated. The fund may even create a demand for itself far beyond the power of society to meet. It may call to a locality a class of immigrants whose purpose in coming is to qualify themselves for enjoyment of the gratuitous aid, and so increase the burdens of that town by the presence of an excess of undesirable elements of population.

The neglect of trustees, or their extravagance, may be greatly increased by the certainty of large income and by the irresponsible position which they occupy. All these facts make it evident that social regulation is necessary to secure the good and avoid the evils of endowments.

Public Regulation. — Legal protection of endowments is reasonable, just, and expedient. If the law and the courts do not respect the wishes of donors the number of benefactors will tend to diminish. But legal protection itself is subordinate to the interest of the community, — the end it serves. The right of the "dead hand" to control forever the use of gifts must be limited by the commonwealth. The living world cannot be ruled from the grave. Respect for the dead and for public documents must not work ruin generation after generation. Endowments are presumably and professedly for the public good; if they become evil in effect, considerations of general welfare must prevail. The state must reserve the right to control endowments.

If the state does pursue the policy and principle of correcting unforeseen abuses which gradually grow up about endowments,

so far from discouraging large bequests such action will really stimulate them. Reasonable men of a genuinely philanthropic disposition are anxious to have all their wealth go to a useful end, and not work injury to any class of the community. When such men discover a state policy of conservative, careful, and discreet direction of income from old trusts, they are all the more inclined to commit their wealth to society. Investments made by ignorant fanaticism and insane caprice rarely do good, and may as well be dissipated first as last.

There are legal difficulties in the way of regulating endowments in the United States. Our constitution has a clause which forbids the states to pass laws impairing the obligation of contracts. Unless a state in giving a charter has reserved the right to modify or repeal it, the charter is a contract with the state, which the latter cannot alter without the consent of the corporation. These difficulties have in part been overcome by inserting in many state constitutions a provision that all charters under general or special acts shall be subject to amendment or repeal by the state.

It may be found possible and expedient to establish in each state an administrative board, which shall annually inquire into the condition of all charitable bequests and trusts and report facts and recommendations to the legislature. This duty might be assigned to state boards of charity. They should have power, perhaps with certain judicial aid and limitations, to forbid, for good causes, the establishment of an endowment, and, at intervals, to revise the direction and application of the income of trusts already established.

8. Voluntary Aid to Public Administration. — In the United States there is great freedom for private activity even in relation to public offices. The theory of our political life is, that every citizen has a right and is bound by duty to exercise influence upon offices of the state. Only as philanthropy is generally studied and understood will it be supported by gifts and by taxation.

These convictions have found expression in various conferences for investigation, discussion, agitation, and education. These charity conferences are held by the representatives of various societies in cities, by delegates of public and voluntary institutions in several of the states, and by the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, whose reports already constitute a valuable library in themselves.

In a few states independent associations have been formed to represent the watchfulness, interest, and sympathy of charitable people in connection with county, municipal, and state institutions. While the spoils system continues to work we cannot be too vigilant to prevent the perversion of public funds to the injury of the helpless. But such interference of non-official philanthropy must itself be organized and regulated by responsible persons, so that it may actually voice the best intelligence of the age and recognize good work done by officials.

CHAPTER X.

THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY.

THE title of this chapter is, perhaps, the most general and distinctive name for associations having a common principle of organization. Other names for the same species are Associated Charities, Society for Organizing Charities, Bureau of Charities, Association of Charities. In 1869 the Society for Organizing Charity and Repressing Mendicity was established in London, and among its earliest supporters were the Bishop of London, Bishop of Winchester, Cardinal Manning, Mr. Gladstone, John Ruskin, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and the Duke of Norfolk. From England the incentive was derived which led, in 1877, to the formation of the first kindred organization at Buffalo, New York. Afterward the movement was taken up in Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Syracuse, Newport, Poughkeepsie, and many other cities. At the present hour similar societies are found in most of the cities of importance in Great Britain and the United States. A special section of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections is devoted to this branch of philanthropy, and the principles for which it stands are more generally recognized than ever before.

1. **Characteristic Principles.** — We distinguish here between charity organization and ordinary relief agencies, and we seek at once the characteristic mark and the justification of an organization in addition to other forms of charity. The specific reason for charity organization will not be found merely in the methods of alleviating distress, common to all charitable work which is wisely conducted; nor in any peculiar and novel devices

or machinery. There is necessarily and properly much in common with all agencies of relief. Charity organization is made necessary by the fact of dependence, and is born of the same social sympathy and sense of duty which inspire all benevolent labor.

But the characteristic, differentiating mark is the end or purpose which was expressed by the founders of the parent society in London in 1869: "Its main object — the cure, as distinguished from the mere alleviation, of distress." The manual of the London society says, "The principle aim is improvement in the condition of the poor." But even this is a totally inadequate characterization of the scope and aim of the actual work of these societies. Charity organization aims not only to help a class, but to protect and promote the welfare of all the community, to anticipate the forces which depress and injure all members of the community, and to counteract them by positive effort to remove evils which threaten health, vigor, creative energy, and prosperity.

It is sometimes said that the field of charity organization is with the "helpable." If by this is meant that personal ministration in outdoor relief should be concentrated on families when there is enough physical and moral stamina to justify reasonable hope of restoration to self support, the phrase may be accepted. It is impossible for voluntary visitors to reach all the indigent, and those who are utterly broken down beyond restoration should be placed in asylums and almshouses.

Many of the "helpable" are temporarily placed in homes, or hospitals, and their fortunes are followed and guided by the workers of the Charity Organization Society until they are finally reëstablished in normal situations.

But charity organization does not neglect even those who are in public asylums, and it sends to them visitors and workers, and watches over the legal rights of all. Even those who are referred to public outdoor relief are not forgotten, and measures for their benefit are fostered. In the hopeful creed of charity organiza-

tion there are no human beings who are absolutely excluded from the "helpable" class.

The charity organization movement stands and acts for the belief that there is a rational possibility of radical cure of pauperism. Its hope, its belief, its ideal are characteristic. The necessity of permanent pauperism is denied. It has a method, a practical working programme, for making its principle effective. This programme is not a code of ready-made rules; it is not a closed and finished system; but it is a method based on experience, on a study of motives in psychology, on economic, political, and sociological analysis of facts and forces.

The immediate, daily reward of the workers lies chiefly in the actual restoration and redemption of numerous individuals and families, to them personally known, and in the repeated instances of victory over venerable abuses and deep-rooted evils. These gains illustrate the method, and are prophetic of larger triumphs.

In its general outlines this method includes the education of the educable, segregation of the unemployable, incorrigible, uneducable, and so the gradual extinction without pain of all the unfit; alleviation by humane means of all who are helpless, but so as not to interfere with education and segregation; and discovery and reduction of the causes of distress by individual and social action, directed upon the dependent and upon the entire community.

Since misery and suffering from destitution are with us, charity organization, in common with other charitable enterprises, aims at alleviation. Its methods secure the most prompt, adequate, and suitable relief of any known. Its method of coöperation is the best yet devised for such conditions as prevail in Great Britain and America.

2. Forms of Organization to Realize these Ends. — The types of organization will be more or less complex according to the size of the city population. In small towns charity organization may be easily connected with several other movements to promote local welfare, as village improvement societies, library

associations, or others. But in large towns and cities a more complex organization is necessary, and the specific field must be narrowed, without, however, losing touch with kindred agencies. A fully developed society in a large city may show elements of organization like the following: —

The Association. — The local society is composed of members who manifest their practical interest by contributions of money or by personal service. A large membership is desirable for these reasons: charity organization requires for its success a considerable contribution of money, for which it returns a full equivalent in lightening the burdens and diminishing the perils of the community. It depends for its success on having a large number of workers in all parts of the city. It is stronger for the interest of many persons who can influence the sentiments and customs of sympathetic and kind people.

The association elects directors, and for such elections or other purposes it should meet once each year, and upon call of the directors. The directors define the policy of the association in application to changing conditions; appoint and discharge administrative officers; supervise the process of administration; represent public interests and opinions; and report to the association and to the public the methods and results of the work. The directors should meet at stated times, and at call of the executive committee or president.

The executive committee is a small body of persons appointed by the directors. Its function is to supervise, by immediate study and frequent intercourse with the general office, the specific actions of the administrative officers, and to advise with them regarding questions requiring immediate determination. It should meet regularly and frequently, and report its actions to the directors. It should also refer important decisions, involving new elements, to the directors.

The administrative officers are the superintendent, sometimes called the general secretary, and the office assistants. These officers are responsible for the processes of the general office and

of any district offices which may be maintained. They should be salaried persons, with special training for their calling. In small towns such duties may be performed by the executive committee or by a representative, who serves without salary ; but in cities this is not possible. Where the work is large and complicated very high qualifications and entire devotion are required, and an adequate salary must be offered to secure and retain officers of sufficient ability and training.

Unlike an ordinary relief society, charity organization cannot render its characteristic social service without a corps of voluntary visitors and other workers, in addition to members of committees.

In the larger cities it is found necessary to maintain district offices. These tend to become societies akin to the mother society, though on a smaller scale, and should be subordinate in control to the central organization, in order that the community, as a whole, may be served without confusion, neglect, or collision. The district may have its association of members, its executive committee, its administrative officers, and its visitors. To secure the largest and best results, even in smaller cities, various neighborhoods should be encouraged to form groups for study and labor, since too great centralization enfeebles the sense of responsibility. At the same time, all parts must be organized to secure unity and harmony, and to care for those most needy parts of the town, which merely local interest would overlook. The constitution and by-laws should carefully provide for central control and for decentralized interest and initiative.

Another form of organization has been found best adapted to the local conditions in some cities, that form which is based on the principle of delegation and close federation. Under this system the governing membership of the society is composed of persons delegated to act for the community from the city government, the various benevolent societies, the churches, and allied organizations. This body of delegates may then elect officers and conduct the affairs of the society. Even when the association is

formed by the union of contributors, there may be *ex-officio* officers or representatives in the board of directors.

3. Material Relief. — The principles of relief, public and private, have already been discussed; and they apply in full force to such relief as the Charity Organization Society may be compelled to give or secure. A much disputed subject is the question, Should a Charity Organization Society give relief? With entire respect for those who hold a different opinion, and with full personal knowledge of the great difficulties of acting on the right principle, the writer holds that a Charity Organization Society, in American cities, should not collect and disburse funds for material relief. For this conclusion the following reasons are offered: (1) If such a society comes to be recognized as a relief-giving society, its own members and the public are liable to forget its distinctive objects and reasons for being. (2) Competition with older agencies of relief is almost inevitable, and rivalry is precisely what should be avoided by those who seek to promote coöperation. (3) If the energies of the officers and visitors are absorbed in relief work, individual interest in the poor is diminished and wholesale methods are brought back. (4) It is not necessary that the Charity Organization Society should take up this task. There are in all cities numerous sources of aid for all classes of the indigent, relatives, churches, neighbors, charitable societies, hospitals, asylums, benevolent individuals, ready to honor drafts upon their means and appliances. (5) And if there is any class of persons not adequately provided for, it would be well to secure the organization of an auxiliary society which would act in harmony with the measures employed to restore the dependents and to prevent their fall. (6) If agents representing the society are known to give material relief, the attitude of the family toward them is apt to be one of duplicity and greed, of scheming and plotting to make an impression of distress and helplessness, so as to secure as large a share of the fund as possible.

4. Emergency Relief. — The Charity Organization Society is obliged to secure immediate help for those who are in distress.

The public conscience and heart will not and ought not to support a society which neglects acute suffering pending an investigation. In this situation the agents and visitors must be empowered to give relief with promise of reimbursement, or there must be a small fund at hand or credit for supplies, which can be used to temporarily mitigate suffering. There is a constant temptation to enlarge the scope of this emergency relief until it swallows up the deeper work of the society; but that is a danger which must be risked, unless some relief society is ready to make instant response to the most urgent calls for assistance.

5. Charity Organization is a Central Organ of Coöperation among Philanthropic Agencies. — This is sometimes claimed to be the characteristic which distinguishes this movement from all relief societies. While in this chapter emphasis is placed on a different aspect of the work, it is admitted that coöperation is an essential means of attaining the characteristic ends of Charity Organization.

Each city should provide a central bureau for the collection and orderly registration of information about individual cases of dependent families and persons. Impostors and professional beggars are generally soon known to the central office and are registered there. Neglected persons in real distress, those who would not be found by institutions and are ignorant of the charitable resources of the city, become known to visitors who move about in the neighborhoods where poverty abounds. Such persons need to make but one application; they are not cruelly compelled to go from door to door as beggars, exposing their shame and reopening the wounds of misery, and repulsed with impostors, as if they were all alike liars and parasites. One investigation, thoroughly made and recorded, is enough for all givers and for all societies in the city.

Benevolent persons are found everywhere ready to give at least a modest sum if they are sure that there is somewhere a reliable knowledge of the situation of the applicant. The central office can always direct such kind impulses to their appropriate objects.

Railroad companies have been very generous in giving transportation to the poor who seek shelter with friends or employment in a new place. But their liberality is frequently abused and becomes the cause of vagabondage. The officers of the corporations have no time or training for investigation, and they are finding that the records and investigations of a central bureau are far more exact and reliable than any investigation of their own.

Churches, always recognized as centres of sympathy and charity, are more likely than other organizations to become points of attack by those seeking charity. The Charity Organization Society has been found a satisfactory medium of interchange, by which persons in need can be brought into relations with the proper churches, while the churches are relieved of certain burdens not properly theirs, and are saved from injustice as well (E. P. Bicknell).

The independence and autonomy of each coöperating society are preserved intact and sacred. The coöperation is entirely voluntary and based on information, advice, and common ideals, and is not forced by legal pressure or penalties. Individuals after receiving the information from the office are still at liberty to commit follies if they wish to do so, but the temptation is diminished.

The benevolent public is sorely in need of an independent source of impartial information about benevolent societies and their solicitors. It is slow to trust the statements of interested parties. Gross deception and misdirection of funds have often bitterly disappointed generous men and closed their purses against proper appeals. New needs arise with the growth of cities, and specialization is demanded by growing complexity of wants. Charity Organization, being ever busy with broad surveys of the entire field, not only helps to suppress duplicating and unnecessary institutions, but to direct attention upon neglected portions of the field. It is also the most suitable body for editing the local directory of charities, independent, reliable, and impartial, for the instruction of the charitable.

6. An Important Function of Charity Organization is Education of the Community in the science and art of charity. Charity

is becoming reflective, systematic, eager to discover general principles, to reach causes, and to deal methodically with situations. That which can be systematically studied can be taught, and such instruction has a deep influence and a wide power. Mixed audiences, however, can be more easily interested in general principles as they are used to throw light on concrete local problems. Educational work is carried on by annual and special reports, by tracts and papers, by articles in newspapers and religious journals, by conferences, addresses, and sermons in churches.

7. Expert Advice to Public Officials. — It is frequently desirable to present specific measures affecting the poor to public and official bodies, and that in such a way as to show that back of the recommendation are well-known and responsible persons. The council, mayor, and administrative officers of city governments can frequently assist in regulating evils which injure the poor and tend to depress them. Ordinances affecting public sanitation, access to parks and water fronts, playgrounds, baths, may be necessary to prevent disease and weakness. Coöperation with the police authorities is necessary in dealing with mendicants, tramps, and wayward children. The superintendents of schools are able to foster schemes of thrift, savings banks, and kindred devices. The state legislature must, at every session, consider amendments and additions to the legal provisions or regulations of charity. These and many other matters can most effectively be brought to the attention of authorities by the responsible officers of a society which represents wealth, culture, and devotion to the true interests of the very poor.

8. Organization of Self-help. — Provident charity is in the highest rank and requires the noble qualities of patience, wisdom, and inventiveness. The Charity Organization Society may foster self-help by establishing agencies of its own and also by making use of those already in existence. Examples may be cited to indicate the wealth of opportunities in this field.

The "vegetable garden," sometimes jocularly called the "Pingree Potato Patch," is a method of utilizing waste land in cities or

their suburbs by setting to work upon it families who are perilously near dependence.

Kindred arrangements are the penny savings bank, the provident dispensary and hospital, building and loan associations, pawners' societies or provident loan associations, country outings, coal clubs, workshops for women.

The laundry training school has been found useful. "If a woman has fair intelligence, physical strength, and is willing to learn, she can, under progressive teaching, acquire skill in laundry work. If a woman becomes skilled in fine washing and ironing, and also becomes conscientious in her work, she takes rank among the first-class operators, and she need never to be without employment, if well. This benefit bestowed upon a penniless woman by such a transformation of her life, signifies to her, not only money gain, but the uplifting of character incident to self-reliance and independence" (New York Report, 1900).

Workrooms for unskilled women have been kept open in several cities as a means of giving aid in return for work, such as plain sewing, mending, washing, and rug-making. Habits of cleanliness are promoted; the value of the bath is proved by experiments; and the women are gradually improved in skill, earning power, and self-reliance.

9. Personal Ministration; the principle of friendly visiting. One of the characteristic elements in Charity Organization work at its best is the factor of friendly visiting and personal service. We may almost measure the degree in which the movement is understood and appreciated in a community by the extent and efficiency of this branch. Both men and women are needed for this service, and its beneficent agency would continue to be socially useful even if there ceased to be a need of material relief in any family of the community.

Forms of Personal Service. — This subject has been so finely treated in the book on Friendly Visiting by Miss Mary E. Richmond that no person who aspires to be a friendly visitor can afford to be without her manual. In a thousand ways one whose eyes

and heart are open can discover better ways of helping the poor than by distributing among them food and clothing. A few illustrations may be given, although experience will suggest to wise workers the most suitable schemes and devices.

The fundamental condition of escaping from pauperism is good health and bodily vigor. An intelligent and tactful visitor can assist, by means direct and indirect, in promoting the conditions of industrial efficiency. He can study works on hygiene and sanitation, become acquainted with the local means of medical relief, protection against nuisances, laws of landlord and tenant, boards of health, and all other available means of help. The knowledge thus obtained can be imparted to the family visited and to the neighborhood, by conversation, printed circulars, illustrated books, and lectures. Life in a crowded city is maintained only at the price of constant vigilance and unwearied effort and general coöperation between persons of all classes. The visitor can gradually bring to the attention of the family such specific dangers as decaying garbage, damp cellars, unlighted corners, ill-ventilated and dark rooms, accumulated filth, patent medicine frauds, premature work and strain of convalescents, exposure to consumption, typhoid fever, and other communicable diseases. The visitor must become a walking encyclopedia of knowledge about nutritious and economical foods, hygienic dress, the best fuel and stoves, and must also be an electric storage battery of cheerfulness, courage, hope, and inspiring sympathy, with all these resources on draft as required by the neighbors.

It would be well for the visitor to learn the art of feeding and caring for infants, to know the agencies for giving children outings to the country; the factory laws which regulate or forbid the employment of children under unfavorable conditions; the marks of defective hearing, eyesight, and nervous action; with information as to medical aid.

Equally essential to well being and rescue from degeneration are the economic habits of the family. The visitor must be acquainted with the man of the household, become interested

with him in local politics, trade unions, and benefit societies; assist him to information about the labor-market, the best ways of borrowing in hours of urgent need of credit, and the most secure ways of investing surplus savings. Even if the man is a drunkard, a visitor may coöperate with wife, children, neighbors, priest, or pastor to restore him to respect and self-control.

The amusements and recreations of the family have important bearings on health, economic prosperity, and education. The visitor may teach the children the difficult art of amusing themselves in a civilized fashion and draw the weary and dull parents into the happy circle.

The visitor can become the ally of the public school teacher and the truant officers. Aid should be given or recommended only on condition that the father work, and the children be kept in school. The visitor may become the guide, philosopher, and friend of a group of children in relation to the vast stores of wealth in the public library, or may set up a small home library as the centre of her educational operations for a neighborhood. He can move lawyers and police officials to remove begging children from the street, and then ply them with influences which may transform them into good citizens. He can select reading, lend photographs of great pictures, awaken love for music, offer prizes for flower culture, and become in a limited field of the city a missionary of all that is true, beautiful, and good. His example will become contagious, and his happy success will forward the movement to cover the entire urban territory with a closely connected and coöperating series of uplifting personal influences.

The visitor must not be a proselyter; but the church is a natural association, akin to family and state; and religion is a universal human need, as bread and light are. The visitor seeks to establish and foster normal relations with family, industry, school, law, benefit club, lodge, libraries, and also with the church to which the person is most naturally drawn. Most of the visitors will be drawn from the churches, because in those organizations the inspiring sanctions of religion awaken and sustain the sense of

social obligation toward those who are in any kind of trouble. The Man of Sorrows is every Sunday held up before the people to enlist not merely pity, but beneficent service.

The visitor has here been spoken of as a man. As a matter of fact most friendly visitors are women; but it is desirable to emphasize the truth that men also owe a duty in this field, and that their help is indispensable in many situations. Friendly visiting is practicable and not visionary. Those who have witnessed the debasing effects of merely material doles, and have maintained their courage and hope, their faith in the power of kindness, and their genuine sympathy, will be willing to consider certain large facts and lessons of actual experience.

We believe in friendly visiting because it follows the method and principle of pastoral visiting, to which, as much as to preaching, is due the growth, power, and influence of the church in all past ages and in all lands. All successful pastors believe in this principle of personal influence apart from the bribes of material alms. Multitudes of persons are inspired, comforted, cheered, strengthened by this personal ministration, who would be insulted and injured by the least suggestion of almsgiving. Rich and poor alike need and appreciate, at least in critical hours, the aid of a superior and consoling presence in the home.

We believe in the value of friendly visiting because daily experience in social intercourse illustrates and demonstrates its worth. Wherever friend helps friend by a timely call, a hopeful and wise word, there the principle of personal service is confirmed by facts.

We believe in friendly visiting, because it is often the only redeeming feature in ordinary relief work, and has actually prevented the worst consequences of giving unearned means of existence.

The essential factor in the famous parish system of Thomas Chalmers was the friendly visitor, and the notable success of that system makes it stand out as one of the moral triumphs of the past century, the revelation of a law of social progress as certain as the law of gravity in physics.

The success of Chalmers in Scotland was distinctly one cause of the adoption of friendly visiting in the renowned municipal charity systems in the German Empire during the past fifty years. The best governed cities in the world, managed by officials of university and technical training, have made this principle an organic and vital part of their administration. And the very fact that thousands of intelligent persons are made familiar with the needs and miseries of the poor helps us to account for the fact that humane legislation for working-men has been more rapidly advanced there than in any other country.

We believe in friendly visiting because our Charity Organization records show that thousands of families who once walked in the ways of pauperism, vice, and crime have been attracted away from those dark and dangerous paths, and have become industrious, independent, upright, with ample resources for a worthy human existence.

Coming from a city official, a cool man of science, and a business-like manager of clerks, records, machinery, and routine, the following thoughts of Dr. E. Muensterberg are weighty with authority, as they glow with the fervor of idealism and faith. "The majority of the well-to-do see in the poor man an exceptional, alien, and, occasionally, a dangerous phenomenon, which must be got rid of as well as possible by means of alms. . . . The separation of classes comes from lack of reflection, or knowledge, or good will. . . . Only in the living union of members of a community, such as was seen in the oldest Christian societies, and in some cases in later times, is the chasm filled; for it is not wealth, but faith and love which unite men, and these know not the differences which are of purely human convention. Readiness to help others as one helps himself is the living force, with the same means and the same love. And from whatever side we consider the relation of giver and recipient, we do not ask for change of human capacities and qualities; we simply demand that men see in the needy person a fellow human being who has the same dispositions and needs as our own." In the Elberfeld Poor Statutes it is said: "The offices of district overseer and visitor are among

the most important civil honor offices, and a worthy performance of their duties demands a great measure of active neighbor love and an earnest sense of justice: love, in order to hear the poor with benevolence and friendliness; and zeal to reject unfair claims."

The Hamburg statutes say: "The visitor is the immediate organ of poor relief; on his activity hangs the welfare or misery of the needy, as also the social and moral value of our system of relief. He must be the truest friend and counsellor of the poor. . . . He must know the poor as his own family, their dwellings as his own house."

Fancy such directions as these given to the salaried inspectors and relieving officers of English and especially of American city systems! With the best good will they could never approach the demand made on German visitors. "He who will help must think that he is caring for himself, for his own flesh and blood. He must seek to place himself precisely in the position of the person he would aid, in order to apply the very means which are suitable. In this there is no difference between public relief and private charity. As public has grown out of private charity, and as both continue to come in contact on the boundaries of their particular fields, so is the work essentially the same in both. They differ only in means and agencies."

Some concrete examples of the methods and influence of personal ministration may here be cited from the Twenty-first Annual Report of the Associated Charities of Boston: —

Ten years ago one of our visitors made her first call upon the family whose story is here given. She found five untidy children, the father just recovering from a broken leg, and the ailing mother with a sickly small baby, regarded as the bringer of the family's recent bad luck. A leaky stove hardly warmed their two badly kept rooms, and was of no use at all for baking. So the family lived on baker's bread, bacon, and other unsuitable and comparatively expensive foods. The gift of a new stove procured by the Conference made a pleasant opportunity for the visitor to show the mother how to cook better and cheaper food; she also taught her to cut and fit clothes for her family. The visitor commended frequently greater tidiness in children or rooms, and suggested or supplied little additions to the rooms when new ones were taken,

until gradually conditions brightened. The health of all improved, and the family finances as well. The visitor showed how much cheaper it was to save money and buy a carpet for cash than to buy on the instalment plan, as the mother had wished; and this experiment led to the purchase of all the household goods for cash, and eventually to the purchase of the house itself.

Here is another instance of what can be done by patience, tact, faith, and knowledge.

A friend undertook to visit a family in which both the man and the woman had the reputation of drinking.

The visitor found, however, that the man did not drink, that he was a good worker, and that the trouble lay entirely with the woman. The latter had a strong desire to keep up appearances, and was so successful that for some time after our friend's visits began rooms and children were clean, and the woman invariably cordial. But later our visitor and the woman became sufficiently intimate for the latter to pour out her tale of misery, with the result that she went to the Home for Intemperate Women. At the end of three weeks she asserted that she had learnt her lesson, she should never drink again, but would make a good home for her family; and at last accounts she was continuing to do well, resolved to redeem her past.

Then, here is another case where the devil of drink has been cast out, for some time at least.

There was a man with a wife and three children who had been aided more than once on account of destitution caused by the man's drinking. The man could earn good wages, but lost his place repeatedly through drink, even taking the money for his wife's medicine for that purpose. The visitor met the man in the street one day, looking particularly miserable, and took him into a restaurant for a good square meal, as, when the man drank, the wife punished him by giving him no food; and lack of nourishing food was an incentive to drink again. Next he persuaded him to join the temperance society of his church, where a fellow-member undertook to watch over him. When the man got work, the family moved into more healthy rooms; he has stopped drinking, and remained steady now for a year and more, is earning regular though not high wages, is paying off old debts, taking his children on occasional outings, and constantly feels that the support of his visitor is his salvation.

A case where a little investigation resulted immediately in benefits to the family is that of a woman who applied to one of our agents for help for herself, sick husband, and two children. The relief society which had helped before reported that the man was a hopeless drunkard for whom it was useless to do anything. Our agent found that the man had been a carpenter on a Southern ranch, and wrote to his employers there. They needed his services,

and sent money for his ticket back. It was rheumatism which, in the climate of Boston, kept him from working and drove him to drink. Since returning South he has worked steadily on the ranch, comfortably supporting his family, who remain here.

An Irish couple with two young children. Here the outlook was not especially promising, yet by constant and tactful visiting since early in 1898 excellent results have been accomplished. The man, formerly a 'longshoreman, had lung trouble, and was unable to do hard work. The visitor secured admission for the oldest child to the day nursery, and found the woman work, which she soon lost through inefficiency. Again the visitor secured work for the woman and light outdoor work for the man, who has greatly improved in health. The next step was to induce the family to leave their wretched quarters for a more homelike place, and this was accomplished. Back debts have been paid, a new stove is gradually being paid for, and they are now receiving practically no help.

It need not discourage a society if the number of friendly visitors is not very great, provided that personal service be secured and directed to useful ends under other names. A district committee, for example, may apparently have only a few who profess and call themselves "friendly visitors"; yet they may be instrumental in securing many workers with home libraries, agents of the penny savings bank, leaders of boys' clubs and classes, teachers of Sunday-school classes, and other church visitors, who acquire an influence and become wise advisers and friends of imperilled families.

10. Social Service is a natural outgrowth of personal ministration. The experience of the trained and competent visitor brings a minute and detailed knowledge of the conditions under which the poor are obliged to live, — their income, food, housing, protracted hours of labor, scant opportunities of culture, the deadening, depressing influence of poverty and uncertainty, the passionate envy and hatred of the rich, the ambitions of agitators, the hopes and fears of enlightened men and women, and the virtues that sturdily thrive in untoward surroundings.

Such specific knowledge of conditions urges one to large and comprehensive views of social responsibility. The visitor discovers

the need of trade union organization, of factory legislation and inspection, of improved municipal government, health boards, building regulations, sewage, water supply, schools, technical and trade instruction.

Such visitors go back from their visits to become students of social science and missionaries of practical reforms; to combat the stupid class prejudices of employers and the rich; to represent the real facts of the home life of working people and the difficulties which keep them down; to champion all that is reasonable and just in the demands of the intelligent leaders of wage earners; and, generally, to knit the bonds of fraternity, sympathy, and justice, without which the nation will become two nations, each arrayed in hostile camps, each threatening the other and endangering the common peace, prosperity, and happiness.

PART III.

Social Arrangements for the Education, Relief, Care, and Custody of Defectives.

CHAPTER I.

EDUCATION AND CARE OF THE BLIND AND OF DEAF MUTES.

1. **Education and Charity.** — There is some plausible reason for omitting the treatment of deaf mutes and the blind from a discussion of charity. Many of the superintendents and teachers of institutions for these classes object, with some natural feeling, to being classified with almoners of public relief, and claim that their establishments are schools, and belong, not to the relief system, but to the educational department of the state. They seek to ally and associate themselves with the national and state educational associations. They claim that the public school is established for the education of all the children of the commonwealth and must, logically and in justice, include the blind and the deaf mutes. This claim is essentially fair; but there is another aspect of the case. Even in the case of normal children, where the parents are too poor to supply all their wants, public relief and private charity may be required to help keep the children in school.

The education of many of the blind and of deaf mutes is accompanied by certain exceptional factors which demand excep-

tional sacrifices on the part of the tax-paying and self-supporting citizens. Normal children live at home and are not boarded at public expense during the school period. Many of the blind and deaf mutes are so deficient in industrial efficiency, owing to their infirmity, that they must be assisted in adult life and in old age. Thus we are obliged to consider the principles of charity and relief with special reference to their peculiar wants.

It has been common to provide by law for these defective children whose parents are unable to support them. Provision is made either by sending them to private schools at public expense, if necessary, or by establishing special state schools, or by sending to other states and paying for the service. In some states payment is required from those who have financial ability, while the indigent are taught and boarded free. Cities sometimes establish separate rooms and departments of their schools for the blind and deaf mutes. Only in a few states is provision made for the support of the adult blind in any separate way.

2. Schools. — The principles of organization and of administration are treated in another place. Educational methods are too technical for our present discussion, and they belong to a special branch of pedagogic science and art. Brief hints of the historical origin of the movement must suffice.

3. The Deaf Mutes. — To the Abbé de l'Epée, who lived in the eighteenth century, we owe the invention of the gesture language for the instruction of the deaf and dumb; to Heinicke of Germany and Braidwood of Scotland the method of articulate speech and reading from the movements of the lips of others. Schools for the deaf mutes were started in this country on the Scottish plan, about 1812 and afterward. Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, a graduate of Yale College and of a theological seminary, was sent abroad to study the best known methods, in the year 1815, and he became the most important founder of schools in this country. He adopted the French sign-language method and secured for an assistant a deaf mute of great ability, Laurent Clark. Into the merits of the controversy between the advocates of the two

methods we cannot here enter. Dr. S. G. Howe and Horace Mann were influential factors in the early movement to establish schools for the deaf mutes as well as for defectives. Schools were established both by private enterprise and state action, and by both in coöperation, and now they are maintained on a legal basis in all parts of the United States. Out of the Columbia Institution at Washington has grown the national deaf-mute college, which opens the way to collegiate degrees. It is called Gallaudet College.

Mr. Allen, with special opportunities for knowing, affirms: "Our educated deaf people form a quiet, well-behaved, self-supporting part of the community. They have formed local and national societies for mutual benefit." The system of manual and trade instructions in their schools equips the graduates with skill for the remunerative and productive industries of the nation.

4. The Blind. — The movement in America for the education of the blind started later than that for the deaf mutes. There are not so many blind as deaf, and, perhaps, 80 per cent of the blind are adults. Success in teaching deaf mutes was an inspiration and suggestion for schools of the blind, which were established from the year 1830 onward, the census of that year first reaching the extent of the need. Dr. S. G. Howe, a graduate of Brown University, studied European methods and became the first teacher of the New England Asylum in 1832. The earliest organizations began with voluntary associations.

In 1899 there were forty schools in the United States, and every state in the Union makes provision for its blind of school age either in its own school or in that of a neighboring state.

The introduction of machinery has made individual handicraft impracticable as a means of support. The training in kindergarten, sloyd, manual work, and tool practice have a high educational value, but the adult blind cannot manage complicated and dangerous machines. Hence they must look elsewhere for life occupations. Some find employment as musicians or tuners of pianos, but only a fraction of all have musical ability. Blindness often comes on late in life, when one can no longer adapt his habits to a dark

world. It is thought that few of those trained in the special schools become a public charge. In 1880, out of 48,928 blind, the census showed only 2560 in almshouses, and probably most of these had become blind in adult years.

5. **City Schools.** — One question of considerable social importance is the wisdom of attempting to provide for the instruction of blind children as well as of deaf mutes, in connection with the public schools, so that they can remain at home. While there are great difficulties in the way of this plan, especially outside of cities, it is strongly urged on several grounds. It is thought that young children suffer from being separated very long from normal family life and from the companionship of those who are most nearly related to them; that they lose the training of ordinary experience in adapting themselves to the conditions of life in a competitive community where they must take their part and place in mature years; that they are more likely to marry defectives like themselves, if brought up with them, and so increase the difficulties of living and the danger of propagating a tendency to defect. While state institutions seem to be necessary, especially for children from scattered rural populations, all competent authorities agree that no effort should be spared to secure, in the highest possible degree, normal domestic relations for every human being, with a minimum of institutional life.

6. **The Indigent Blind.** — The care and support of the indigent blind is a specially difficult problem of charity. Those who are totally blind are usually at a disadvantage in competition for places by the side of persons who have all their senses complete. For this reason public begging is more readily tolerated with such persons, especially if it is masked by some pretence of selling small articles. But mendicancy is quite as degrading to a blind person as to any other, and should be prevented by law and police administration; not, however, without providing shelter and employment for all who cannot find occupation through their own effort. Voluntary associations may greatly assist in finding suitable and remunerative employment for those who are deprived of sight.

7. Double and Triple Defects. — There are extraordinary cases of persons who are both blind and deaf. The accounts of Laura Bridgman and of Helen Keller are stories of sadness and of triumph. The victories of patience, goodness, and teaching skill in such instances recall the saying of the famous philanthropist, Dr. S. G. Howe, that "obstacles are things to be overcome." It is a mistake, however, to suppose that teachers even in these cases need to have genius or even exceptional gifts and qualities. In many less conspicuous and famous instances the ordinary teachers of schools for defectives have achieved corresponding results. It is chiefly a matter of special training in suitable methods.



CHAPTER II.

EDUCATION AND CUSTODY OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED.

1. Definition. — The term "feeble-minded" is used, especially in the United States, to denote both imbeciles and idiots. "Idiocy is mental deficiency, or extreme stupidity, depending upon malnutrition or disease of the nervous centres, occurring either before birth or before the evolution of the mental faculties in childhood." The word "imbecility" is generally used to denote a less decided degree of mental incapacity. This distinction is preserved in legal and medical writings (Ireland).

2. Classification. — Provision for the feeble-minded, both educational and custodial, must be based on the distinctions of infirmity and the grade of the patient. It is, perhaps, impossible to give a classification which is satisfactory from every point of view, since the variations are so many and complex.

Dr. F. Petersen defines the idiot proper as "an individual able to give little or no care to his person, incapable of intelligent communication, barely able to express his material wants, most awkward and ungainly in his movements, if he move at all, and presenting marked evidence in his lack of expression, apathetic attitudes, and physical stigmata, of degeneration, of the profound stunting of his mental and physical development. On the other hand, the imbecile is able to care for his person and dress, attend to his physical wants, comprehend fairly what is said to him, carry out orders more or less intelligently, is often able to speak well; if not paralyzed, he has good use of his muscles; he is not destitute of expression, though the expression may vary from an evil, mischievous, cunning cast of countenance, to one of rollicking

good nature; there are fewer stigmata of degeneration in this class than among idiots."

Some marks of distinction of various classes will illustrate the variety of defects which pass under the name feeble-minded. In our public schools there are found many grades of ability, from the dull and slow pupils who vex the patient teacher, all the way up to those who give promise of talent and genius. Now and then a child misses altogether the advantage of school, and remains a hidden mystery, secluded in the home, or goes abroad to suffer from the persecutions, ridicule, and misunderstanding of ordinary children.

One variety of the feeble-minded, thus isolated from society or kept in special institutions, is the small-headed or microcephalous, characterized not only by deficiency in the size of the skull, but also by its form, the narrow and receding forehead, pointed vertex and flat occiput, and by imperfect development of the brain. If the circumference of the head is less than seventeen inches, the intellectual power must be very restricted, but the health of the nervous centre is as important as its size. The stature is usually much below the average.

Genetous idiocy is a term used to describe a congenital condition, complete before birth, and not due to any specific disease. The circulation is feeble, temperature low, sensibility deficient. There are defects and deformities in palate, jaws, teeth, tongue, glands, ears, and skull. The brain is not fully developed, and the heart is frequently too small and feeble in action to supply blood to the brain. This form of idiocy is often due to hereditary causes or to some accident or injury to the mother before the birth of the child.

The hydrocephalic idiot suffers from a very serious nervous disease. Before or not long after birth the brain is pressed down and the skull urged outward by accumulation of fluid; and sometimes attains enormous size and deformed appearance. The patients are often victims of consumption or scrofula. In disposition they are generally gentle and docile.

Those called eclampsic idiots have brains which were injured in connection with convulsions at birth or during the teething period. The child may remain a mute and be difficult to educate. The muscular power may be preserved and the person may learn to work.

Epilepsy is a common cause of idiocy, and this dreadful disease is frequently an inheritance from neurotic parents. The unfortunate children of this class have an eccentric disposition and often make droll and humorous speeches. If the convulsions are frequent and severe, cure is difficult. They are often helped by suitable vegetable diet, open air exercise, and industrial training.

Paralysis of the brain may occur before or after birth, and lead to idiocy. It may affect one or both sides of the body. Fever and convulsions often usher in the attacks; the limbs become stiff, the muscles hard, locomotion and action difficult. Mental power may be cultivated even when walking and arm movements are impossible. Rubbing, electricity, and surgical aid may improve the condition of the limbs.

The term "traumatic idiocy" is used to designate the feeble-mindedness caused by a blow on the head and the consequent lesion of some part of the brain.

Inflammation may result in serious defect of the mental powers. Scarlet fever, measles, and other diseases often leave behind them inflamed mucous surfaces, with deafness.

Sclerotic idiocy is a rare form whose predisposing causes are tuberculous diathesis and neurotic tendencies in progenitors. The immediate occasion may be an accident to the mother, prolonged labor, asphyxia, or injury to the head of the child. The head is generally small and sometimes wanting in symmetry. The tissues of the brain differ from normal in being fibrous, hard, and shrunken, or tuberous and enlarged.

Syphilis is seldom proved to be the direct cause of idiocy, perhaps partly because the rate of mortality of infants affected by this disease is very high, so that the effects are not registered in institutions.

Cretins are seldom met outside of certain well defined areas of country, usually in the deep valleys of mountain regions; and cretinism is thought to be due to the action of specific microbes or miasma. The disease is endemic and may be inherited, although early removal to a good climate causes the tendency to disappear.

Idiocy may result from the deprivation of two or more of the senses, as sight and hearing, on which the mind is dependent for its awakening and for materials of memory, imagination, and judgment. By providing a substitute for sight and sound in touch and pressure many of the blind deaf mutes have become bright and thoughtful who otherwise had sunk into the permanent darkness of utter idiocy.

Among the idiots are found those who are called moral imbeciles, children who show a proneness to evil, a callous selfishness, a want of sympathy with other people. The mental deficiency is often not so noticeable as this hardness and absence of all consideration for the feelings and rights of others. It is probable that many examples of Lombroso's "born criminal" really belong to this not very large class. Even with these persons education in social coöperation sometimes awakens and cultivates the affections in a high degree.

In general it may be said of all classes of the feeble-minded that they attain, on the average, less than the normal stature and weight, the entire body being seriously affected by arrest of growth. The average mortality between the ages of five and twenty years is at least nine times that of normal persons of that period of life. They are peculiarly exposed to nervous and other diseases, and require constant personal supervision of a resident physician.

3. Causes. — The general laws of inheritance and of acquired defects have been discussed. Only a few illustrations of a special character need to be added here. Among the specific hereditary antecedents of mental deficiency are counted consumption, insanity, imbecility, parental intemperance, consanguinity of feeble

parents, maternal ill health, accident or shock during gestation. Extreme youth or extreme age of parents, or disproportionate age, and rarely consanguinity, are noted as causal factors.

Causes connected with birth are prolonged parturition, excessive pressure, premature birth. Causes following birth are convulsions, epilepsy, paralysis, injuries to the head, fright, fever.

Neurotic inheritance seems to be the cause of idiocy in about forty to fifty per cent of cases; tuberculosis and scrofula of parents, fifteen to thirty per cent; alcoholism, nine to sixteen per cent; hereditary syphilis, one to two per cent; gestational causes, eleven to thirty per cent; parturitional causes, about eighteen per cent; infantile convulsions, over twenty-five per cent; acute febrile diseases, six per cent (Petersen).

4. The Feeble-Minded propagate Defects. — There is general agreement among authorities that there is no trait, physical or mental, which is so likely to be inherited as feeble-mindedness. While many cases arise from accident, by far the largest number can be traced to some distant inferiority of parents. This law of causality, which could be richly illustrated and demonstrated by the records of institutions, must be considered in relation to the measures of treatment.

5. Social Disadvantages of the Feeble-Minded. — The defective child injures the family to which it belongs, if it is kept at home. It is a source of constant humiliation, annoyance, often of physical danger, loss of time and energy, weakness of the mother, and vicious example to other children. This aspect is so important, and the domestic and social consequences are so weighty, that some illustrations will be taken from a report of Dr. Rogers, which might be enriched from many other sources.

One girl when crossed in any way becomes excitable and is inclined to do bodily harm to those about her, unless she is restrained. . . . A certain boy is not fit to be left alone, is a great care to his widowed mother, and a menace to a younger brother. . . . A sensitive boy of seventeen threatens to commit suicide, and this worries his mother and makes her excessively nervous. . . . Another boy is so dangerous that his mother's life is in hourly peril. . . . A farmer takes a feeble-minded boy to bring up with his own children, but the

afflicted lad smokes, chews, practises vile habits, is without shame, and will spoil his companions if not taken away. . . . Another is affectionate and obedient unless he is excited. His chief deficiency consists in believing whatever any foolish or evil-minded person may choose to tell him, wasting his money, clothing, books, foolishly. He is all right with a master, but left to himself he seems utterly helpless and defenceless, wandering from place to place like a homeless dog seeking for a master. Many unprincipled people take advantage of his simplicity to impose upon him by hiring him for a pitiful sum and paying him in worthless objects. . . . A widow lady tries to earn a living by keeping boarders, and then explains her failure: "The boarders come to my place and they are here for a few days; they go again, on account of my daughter. They are afraid of her, for she makes such queer motions."

The symptoms described reveal at once the necessity of segregating such children from others, that they may not be exposed to the cruel taunts and sneers, the thoughtless ridicule, and the unscrupulous attacks of people in general society. The other members of the family also require protection.

6. Education. — The entire social system of charity and correction is, essentially, part of the system of education by which society protects itself through the positive method of adapting the young and the abnormal to the conditions of life. The ethical principle at the basis of elementary education is the moral obligation of society to aid every human being to unfold all the powers of his personality. This principle applies with special force to the most helpless. Passing by the proposition to immure the idiot in total neglect, or to kill him outright, an enlightened view of social duty and interest requires the highest possible education of the defective. This is at best a slow, tedious, and difficult process.

The proof has already been presented in the nature and symptoms of the feeble-minded that the family is not a suitable organ for this elementary education. The presence of an idiot or of an imbecile depresses the mother and unfits her physically and spiritually for the functions of maternity and the care of her normal children. If the parents are themselves defective, there is all the more reason for taking away the offspring and of separating the parents from each other to prevent more mischief.

The method of instruction does not differ in essential principles from the best methods used with normal children. The process is more slow; the steps must be more carefully analyzed; more use must be made of tangible objects; there must be more repetition of exercises. But all the principles of the best teaching, especially in kindergarten and manual training schools, are essential in these schools. Indeed, a year or more spent in a school of defective children would be an excellent kind of preparation for teaching normal children.

7. Self support. — It may be asked whether defective children can be made self supporting if they are thoroughly trained. From experiments recently made in this country it seems highly probable that a colony of feeble-minded persons, after the farm and buildings have been furnished, may, under skilful management, be trained to produce as much in value as they consume. Mr. A. Johnson makes a distinction, however, which should be noted. A boy cannot do a man's work; if he could he would be more than self-supporting, for a man must support several persons by his labor. "If a feeble-minded laborer does one-third of a full man's work, or just as much more as will make up for the extra supervision required because he is feeble-minded, then he earns his own living."

8. Public Opinion. — It is of the first importance to create an intelligent public judgment, based on knowledge, in respect to the entire system of agencies necessary to diminish the evils of feeble-mindedness. Facts must be more generally understood as a condition of improvement in the situation. Such enlightened judgment will slowly modify the customs and habits of family life. It will, in some slight measure, tend to prevent foolish marriages between persons physically unfit to become parents. It will tend to induce mothers to remove their feeble-minded children, even though it costs them many a pang, to institutions where they can enjoy suitable educational advantages and the society of those like them, without being exposed to the sufferings and humiliations incident to life with normal children and youth. It will tend to

diminish the pressure and nerve fatigue caused by the feverish haste to be rich, to shine in the wasteful ways of fashionable society, which result in imperfect births. It will tend to emphasize the social value of physical culture of boys and girls with reference to their future functions as parents.

An instructed public judgment will demand and provide for educational and custodial establishments for all the feeble-minded whose presence in families and communities is a perpetual source of danger and injury. The unfortunate and helpless persons of this character who are at present kept in jails, county poorhouses, or left to wander about as the butt of ridicule and thoughtless sport, or the victims of lust, will be provided with permanent homes in isolated agricultural colonies, held in gentle and safe custody, enabled to produce their own food, and so to live happy and contented lives, without becoming the irresponsible progenitors of a miserable posterity.

A movement has begun to enact laws prohibiting the marriage of defectives. This may help to educate public opinion, limit the number of mock and immoral marriages, and compel the formation of permanent asylum colonies. But the prohibition of legal marriage and the penalizing of illicit intercourse are not adequate remedies, because many of this class do not understand morality, law, or penalty any more than animals. Custodial institutions will still be necessary to prevent the propagation of degenerates.

The earlier efforts to provide for the feeble-minded aimed chiefly at education and training for independent life. The institutions were simply temporary schools for preparing children to return to free life in the world of competition. But now all competent authorities agree that the former hopes of education for normal life were far too optimistic. Very few can be developed to the point where they can elbow their way in competition with vigorous, strong, and capable persons and protect themselves from harm and deep degradation. This expert judgment lays a moral obligation on legislatures to make permanent provision for most of the seriously defective in custodial institutions. A few common-

wealths have already adopted this principle, and with the others it is simply a question of time and earnest effort when they will do their duty.

A few private schools have been erected for the care of unfortunate children of wealthy parents, and the demand for them seems to be growing; but voluntary enterprise is a mere incident, and no power short of the state government can supply the need and protect the community. Whether relatives who have means should be required to pay in state institutions is a question which will receive different answers according to the customs of the state. It would seem that the same principles which govern the asylums for the insane are valid here; and that the state should care for all gratuitously without class distinctions of any kind.

9. Is it Best to provide for Epileptics together with the Feeble-Minded? — Authorities differ in judgment on this point. Precedents exist for both methods. Where the public has as yet been unable to discriminate between these two radically different kinds of defect, and has not yet been educated to make full provision for separate care, it is sometimes possible to secure legislative appropriations for one institution, while an attempt to found two schools would almost certainly fail and postpone the entire enterprise. Medical, educational, and custodial requirements seem to compel at least separation in the same colony, even if under the same management. In the process of specialization it is probable that the separation will occur when the numbers of each class become too great for a single management.

10. Slow Children. — Children who are simply slow to understand and backward in learning, but sound in brain, should not be classed with dependents, although they require special methods of teaching in public schools and separate instruction. Many can be taught to work, through sloyd and manual training methods, who profit little by learning to read and write, and who even forget the arts of reading and writing. Rural life is far more favorable for them than rapid, exciting, and stimulating city life; and parents are wise who train such children, as early as possible, for horticultural or agricultural pursuits.

CHAPTER III.

SOCIAL TREATMENT OF THE INSANE.

1. Nature of the Defect. — Insanity is a very vague term and is not capable of exact definition. In popular thought and speech there is great confusion. The word connotes a serious disease of the nervous system, especially of the brain, which is manifested by abnormal expressions of the intellect, emotions, and will. The term "insanity" is not with accuracy applied to those temporary mental disturbances which accompany intoxication or fever, trance, ecstasy, or catalepsy; nor to the effects of arrested development seen in the feeble-minded.

2. Forms. — In the census of 1890 the forms are distinguished as acute mania, dementia, epilepsy, chronic mania, paresis, monomania, and melancholia. The kinds of mental disturbances vary at different times and stages even with the same patient, and one form passes into another and comes back again. There is no absolute line of distinction at certain points. Dr. Hammond, following Esquirol, found the following definitions useful for provisional statement. Melancholia is marked by perversion of the understanding in regard to one object or a limited number of objects, with predominance of sadness or depression of mind. Monomania is perversion of understanding, limited to a single object or small number of objects, with predominance of mental excitement. Mania is a perversion embracing all kinds of objects, and is accompanied with mental excitement. Dementia is incapacity for reasoning, from the fact that the organs of thought have lost their energy and the force necessary for performing their functions. Imbecility or idiocy implies such an imperfect development of the organs that the persons afflicted cannot reason

correctly. These distinctions are based primarily on the psychical manifestations of disease; but another classification might be made which would rest on variations in the character of the nervous injuries which cause the mental defects and disturbances.

3. Causes. — All that hurts the nervous system, enfeebles the body, drains the energy, has some tendency to produce brain disorder. Among the external causes may be chosen for illustration, insufficient nutrition, frights, shocks, strokes upon some important nervous branch or mass. Inflammation, pressure, lesion, and degeneration of tissues are internal causes. Indirect stress includes the mental changes occurring at puberty and the menopause, abnormal sexual activity, excesses, child-bearing, and fevers.

Social circumstances unfavorable to health are often influential. Here may be cited all that affects the livelihood, as exhausting employment, fluctuations in business, precariousness of income; unfavorable conditions in the family, as quarrels, disgrace, fear, neglect, jealousy; disturbances in social order, riots, war, strikes, the excitement of campaigns; morbid and irrational methods of conducting religious revivals.

The weakness and defects on which these forces play are inherited; and if both parents are feeble or imperfect in structure, the tendency to transmit the defect is increased, especially if the parties are near of kin.

4. The Social Situation of the Insane. — The psychical peculiarities and abnormal states of the insane, if serious and prolonged, have certain important social consequences. There is frequently a danger to the other members of the family and to neighbors from the actions of the insane; not so frequently as is popularly imagined, but still often enough to require attention and in all cases suitable measures of defence. Life and property are imperilled by those who have a homicidal tendency, or who are violent and destroy furniture, clothing, and other goods. Even if there is not serious menace to person and property, the entire life of a family may be disturbed by the peculiar habits of those who have become mentally diseased.

In various degrees the health and property of the patient are in peril from this misfortune. His industrial, domestic, and other civil relations demand of him conduct which he is unable to manifest. He is more likely to become dependent on the community for support than are persons of normal health. He requires medical help, and that of a kind which cannot be enjoyed outside of a hospital specially devoted to this form of disease.

5. Popular Instruction. — Information in relation to the nature, manifestations, and causes of insanity should be popularized in every possible way in order to lead people to know and avoid the causes of nervous disease; to make it possible to recognize such diseases in the very beginning, when hope of prevention or cure is greatest; to diminish the absurd, unreasoning, and superstitious horror with which insane persons are often regarded; to render the services of magistrates, lawyers, and jurors in trials involving the insane more competent; and to induce the public to provide for all the insane in such institutions as are demanded by modern science.

6. Private Hospitals and Retreats. — These agencies supply a legitimate want. Private physicians, specialists in this class of diseases, can treat many cases better by having control of hospitals built expressly for treating nervous persons. Sometimes a few weeks of quiet, under the care of a specialist, will restore health and ward off permanent insanity, especially if the neurotic symptoms are observed and properly interpreted in the premonitory stages. In the nature of the case these private hospitals can serve only a small class, chiefly those of independent means, and it is almost entirely a private affair. The state, however, must supervise and inspect such establishments in order to prevent illegal confinement, and assure scientific administration and treatment, with secure and sanitary conditions in the houses.

7. Theory and Practice of Support of Public Hospitals. — The social motives for supporting hospitals and asylums, are social protection, benevolence, communal rights of taxpayers, and mutual insurance. The necessity for social protection alone is sufficient

to justify state provision for the insane. The idea of charity is a factor also, because it is ever present in the complex of incentives which actuate a civilized community, and because many of the patients are dependents.

But those who pay taxes may reasonably claim that they are not paupers, when they are cared for at public expense, since they have paid their share for the support of such institutions in health, and, if they have property, they continue to pay taxes. There is no reason in justice for making them pay twice for the protection and treatment which they receive. Even working people who have no assessed property have indirectly paid taxes to the government in the form of revenue tariffs and taxes on rented houses. In reality all effective producers are taxpayers and have social rights as such. The analogy of the public school is here suggestive; all pay and all have a right to enjoy the privileges of this educational provision.

Patients in the hospitals who are able to pay for extra attention and comforts sometimes receive them. But this introduces in state institutions a difficulty in administration. There is danger of showing partiality and arousing the sense of injustice. The extension of the colony system of cottages or detached wards, or of the boarding-out system under state supervision, may aid in overcoming this obstacle. It is difficult to make any distinctions in treatment, even when required by the needs of a patient, if all are living together in a long corridor.

It has been urged in favor of requiring the competent to pay, that the income received would provide for many of the poor insane who are now crowded out of state institutions and imperfectly treated in almshouses. But this is a mere evasion of the plain duty of the commonwealth to furnish suitable care and custody for all its insane citizens. Relief should rather be sought by prohibiting counties to retain dependents in unsuitable places, and by supplying adequate facilities at common expense, and not by double taxation of those who have property.

8. Legal Regulations. — Insanity is so often the cause of ex-

treme poverty or its effect, that legal provision for the dependents must touch at points the life of this class.

Frequently the law makes a distinction between the dangerous and harmless insane. Most commonwealths provide for cases of acute, violent, and dangerous insanity. With few exceptions the idiotic, harmless, and intoxicated are expressly excluded from these legal provisions.

Mode of Commitment.—There seem to be four different principles governing commitment: arraignment and trial before a court, without any medical examination or testimony; trial with examination and medical certificate; or commitment directly upon medical declaration, the function of the court being confined to registration of the finding; and inquisition and finding of a regular commission. This is the actual basis of legislation in various states, and the conflict of ideas is obvious.

Support.—The indigent insane are ordinarily supported at the cost of the state, or of the county, or of both. Few states have made adequate legal provision for all the harmless and chronic insane.

Regulative Principles of Legislation.—The entire community is interested in the legal regulations, procedure, and institutional treatment of the insane. According to very high authorities the following principles ought to dominate legislation and administration, all of them being intended in some way to defend the public against irrational conduct, to protect the helpless from unjust deprivation of liberty, to safeguard the personal and property rights of the patients, and to provide humane medical treatment and necessary custodial care.

The law should be distinctly based on the modern scientific conception of insanity as a disease, and not a crime. This principle requires that the board of inquest, appointed to examine into the fact of insanity, should be composed of physicians of recognized standing in their profession. This process of inquiry should be uniformly and consistently called an "inquest," and never a "trial"; the former term connoting disease, the latter, crime.

It should be made illegal to confine an insane person in any jail or prison, and thus local authorities should be compelled to provide proper accommodations for the temporary detention and restraint of dangerous persons, pending an inquest. The present general custom of detaining the violent insane in local prisons, near to criminals and under charge of sheriffs and turnkeys, is an outrage.

The personal and property rights of the insane should be guarded by commissions and courts, since the insane are incompetent to protect themselves. Personal freedom should be secured by legal definition and rule so far as is consistent with public safety. All confinement should be the result of a judicial investigation whose findings are recorded. The property of the insane should be under guardianship for his benefit. The taint of a pauper should in all cases be avoided. The law should forbid county authorities to keep the insane in almshouses, as paupers; or, if this is temporarily tolerated, should fix the rules governing the buildings and treatment and provide for inspection and control by a state board of administration or commission.

The judge of the court should have full legal power to use discretion in selecting the treatment which will best promote the interests of the patient. A trial by jury should not be absolutely obligatory in all cases. Unless some right is menaced or a demand is made, a quiet inquest is better for the health of the patient. The insane should be permitted to go voluntarily to the hospital, on medical advice, in the early stages of the malady, without the expense and publicity of a trial. The judge should have power to maintain quiet and to exclude curious sight-seers from the room where the inquest is held.

The law should confer power upon certain designated public officers to prevent or remedy, by summary process, any wrong which may be done to an insane person by those who have him in charge.

The central administration of the commonwealth should have legal power to transfer persons from one institution to another,

according to the best interests of the patients and the state, especially from county to state institutions, where county care is still tolerated. The law should provide for a frequent census of all the insane in the state.

The social treatment of the insane must recognize two general classes of cases, the acute and the chronic. The physician does not permit himself to think of any who are "incurable." That hopeless word should not be admitted to our vocabulary, for it carries with it dangerous practical consequences. Acute insanity, especially of recent origin, is presumably curable, and for this a hospital is required, with all modern equipment, material and personal, for remedial treatment. Since insanity displays itself in many ways the public must provide buildings and grounds for the separation of those who need restraint, the dangerous, disturbed, violent, untidy, and obscene, relatively few in number, from those who do not require restraint, but only quiet, nursing, and medical treatment.

The chronic insane call for the same classifications and conveniences. If there are enough attendants, almost all can enjoy a large degree of freedom and many can perform useful work.

9. Methods of Dealing with the Dependent Insane. — While we have taken the position that in a really ideal condition there would be no distinction between the pauper insane and others, such a distinction is actually a part of the law in many states, and we must deal with it as a present fact. What is relatively best under these conditions? There are three alternative methods: outdoor relief, local care, state asylums. Family care is ordinarily out of the question; it is dangerous to permit the insane to live scattered about the country in custody of inexperienced persons and without supervision; and support of the dependent by outdoor relief is costly and pauperizing in tendency. Boarding out a limited and select number of the harmless insane is practicable and desirable, and is already known in this country and abroad. But this method is of very limited range, and must be kept under strict control of a central administrative body.

The County Plan of Caring for the Chronic Pauper Insane.— It is still, unfortunately, the custom in many commonwealths to keep these afflicted people in jails and poorhouses, because the legislatures refuse to provide adequate facilities at state expense. Those who venture to defend this custom claim that it is cheaper, and that the county poorfarm is not a bad place for the harmless insane to live. But a vast amount of pathetic evidence from eye-witnesses is on record to prove that local care is apt to be parsimonious, mean and ignorant. Even where there is state supervision abuses persist beyond belief, and where competent inspection is neglected the horrors of a barbarous age are repeated near centres of culture.

Examples of such neglect and inhumanity may be cited from a certain state report of the investigating agent.

The insane man still continues to wear the ball and chain when outside, to prevent him from running away, when not locked in his room. There are two insane men, who are locked in their cells. One of them is almost entirely nude. Two of the cells in the insane department have been lined with iron. Of the insane, five were in seclusion, all of them clothed except one, it being found impossible to keep clothing upon him. . . . Two men were observed in their cells, lying naked on their beds, with only a blanket for a covering. One of them has irons on his legs and handcuffs on his wrists. He is chained to a ring in the floor, and sleeps upon straw. . . . In consequence of the large number of insane inmates, it is impossible to give them the care which they require. There are no personal attendants. They are accordingly locked in their cells and in the corridors, and when in the airing court are a law unto themselves. . . . One is chained to a tree. . . . One woman is in a cell without furniture or bedding. . . . The condition of the outhouse is bad, and the dormitories are totally unfit for human beings. . . . Some of the patients are inclined to remove their clothing, but the superintendent, when they do this, turns the hose upon them, so that the sight of the hose in the hands of the keeper is sufficient to make them dress themselves with all possible speed. . . . Bed bugs are in the walls, and there is an offensive odor. The pest-house is occupied by three women who are in the worst stages of syphilis and by a chronic insane woman. There is great danger of the insane woman becoming infected with the same disease. . . . Too many locks and bars on the insane department, which gives it the appearance of a jail or dungeon. The rooms throw out a villainous odor. In the rear building there are two

insane women, one epileptic girl, and two male idiots, who are also epileptics. The idiots are disgustingly filthy, and the rooms are in the same condition. . . . In one county three idiots, one of them an epileptic, were cared for by an insane woman. . . . In another county there were two steel cages for the insane, six by seven feet in size.

Several counties did not provide a physician, or medical care was let out to the lowest bidder. Many of these same counties do better now, under state inspection, and many evils have been corrected. But the examples given illustrate the danger of county care.

In states where the insane are permitted to remain in poorhouses, the least that can be asked in the name of modern science and humanity is, that the state board of charities should be required to appoint local boards of visitors to inspect county institutions, report abuses, suggest needed improvements, and awaken public attention; to transfer insane patients not properly cared for on county farms to the state hospital for the insane; and to require that plans for county asylums be submitted to the state board before permission to build can be given. State inspectors, in sufficient numbers, should travel and visit the county poorfarms and asylums. When mechanical restraints are required, an insane patient should be sent to a state hospital. Harmless patients, who may safely be given considerable freedom, are the only patients which it is permissible, under any circumstances, to leave in local almshouses.

The state of Wisconsin led the way in the method of providing for the chronic pauper insane in county asylums, but placed these local institutions under supervision of the Board of Control. The advocates of this system claim that it is more economical than any other; that the patients are nearer their relatives and friends; that they have greater freedom and happiness than they could enjoy in a large institution; that cures are frequently effected; and that the abuses of local management are suppressed by the regulations and inspections of the officials of the state All these claims are controverted by many medical authorities,

and the method must still be regarded as an experiment, although it is an experiment tried under hopeful auspices, and other states are adopting its principle.

Plans for State Hospitals. — Without trespassing upon the special province of the architect we may indicate some of the essential material factors in a state institution for the insane. The tendency of expert opinion is now in favor of the cottage or detached building system. This system has certain characteristic features: two-story houses, large associated dormitories on the second floor, with living rooms on the first floor; all in contrast with the huge edifices of three or four stories formerly built for the purpose, with separate rooms for many hundreds of persons under one roof. Where the buildings are somewhat removed from each other, there is less risk of general conflagration, and this means reduced loss of life, greater sense of security, and diminished rates of insurance. The windows on all sides are unobstructed and admit abundance of light and air. There are fewer occasions of friction and conflict between persons of an irritable and excitable temperament, because the population is not so crowded. Hence there is greater freedom and sense of personal liberty, fewer cases of confinement under lock and key. There is more variety in the life of the patients, since they can be transferred occasionally from one house to another, and each house has its own characteristic furniture and arrangements. The invalids can more easily and safely enjoy open air life, the living rooms being on the first floor. Attendants have an increased sense of responsibility, since most of the physical means of forcible restraint are removed. The patients are more likely to be treated according to their individual needs and with less routine. In the large dormitories it is easier and less expensive to provide for nursing at night. For all these reasons the public gains confidence in the institution, regards it with less of dread and suspicion and more of good will. The air of terrible mystery is not present and the homelike village appearance is attractive. It has been found that patients who were restless and troubled with fear, so long as they were kept in

separate rooms at night, improved in health and slept quietly when they felt that they were surrounded by others and cared for by nurses.

The economical reason may now be added. The immense structures formerly built for the insane were very costly. It was necessary to spend for each person in the building from one thousand to fifteen hundred dollars. The detached cottages furnish better accommodations at a cost ranging from five hundred to nine hundred dollars for each patient. It was estimated that to transfer ten thousand insane from jails and almshouses to an institution of the old corridor type would cost the state twelve million dollars, while with the system of detached buildings the cost would be only six million dollars. If ever the states are induced to care for all the insane, the cost must be reduced to the lowest amount consistent with humane care.

10. Detention Hospitals. — The general public seems to be unaware of the cruelty and injustice sometimes inflicted upon innocent persons suffering from nervous disease by their arrest and incarceration in local lockups and jails. They are sometimes carried by the police in the same wagons with drunkards, prostitutes, and thieves, and are shut in with the shameless and lawless. Public and personal security require restraint, but morality forbids the disgrace, humiliation, and physical injury which attend such incarceration. The insane should never be brought near the raving inebriate. Separate and specially adapted hospitals should be provided by health authorities in every community for the temporary detention of the insane until a permanent disposition of them can be made. Persons who have been found wandering aimlessly about, or interrupting public meetings, or doing any irrational act, or attempting to commit suicide, may thus be humanely confined, in care of personal attendants and watchers, until the physicians can examine them and give advice as to their treatment.

W. P. Letchworth urges the establishment of small hospitals near cities. "Instead of adding to our already overburdened institutions, or constructing

more like them, why not provide for the acute insane small hospitals near the large cities, where they may have the advantages which such institutions so located are capable of affording? It is claimed by high medical authority that more cures can be effected in the small institution under an individualized system of treatment than in the large one, where the medical superintendent is overwhelmed with the innumerable details incident to its business affairs. . . . The Lunacy Commission estimates that the ultimate average charge for every patient admitted to a state hospital who is not discharged, recovered or improved, amounts to about $6000. Surely we are warranted in exhausting every reasonable resource in treating the acute insane, and in dealing with insanity in its earlier and premonitory stages."

CHAPTER IV.

FURTHER SPECIALIZATION OF INSTITUTIONS FOR DEFECTIVES.

1. Epileptics. — The nature and manifestations of the disease of epilepsy determine the most suitable forms of treatment. The term "epilepsy" is popularly used to designate various morbid conditions which in origin and nature should be considered separately. There is true epilepsy; epilepsy following poisoning, especially by alcohol; cortical epilepsy, which results from local disease of the motor cortical area; and reflex epilepsy, which originates in irritation of a peripheral nerve.

The chief feature observed by the public is a sudden loss of consciousness, complete or partial. Frequently spasms occur. The convulsions do not last long, but they tend to occur more often with progress of the disease. There is no such regularity in their occurrence as to give certain warning, and the surprise of the attacks is one of their most dangerous features. The patient may be at the edge of a roof, or over deep water, or near a fire; and his fall may plunge him into death. After the convulsion is over stupor follows, and then the patient may be able to attend to work or affairs of business. The more serious form is called *grand mal*, and there are lighter forms called *petit mal*. If the patient does not lose consciousness and fall, his facial contortions or other partial loss of muscular control will reveal his trouble. Epileptics frequently become insane, and at last become exceedingly wretched in their physical and mental state.

Epilepsy is most apt to develop at an early age, the highest ratio being during adolescence. This fact indicates special pro-

vision for children, since hope of cure is much greater in the first stages. The disease has been traced in all climates and among many races, and thus the causes must be sought in conditions common to all races and climates.

Extent. — Statistics fall below the real number, because the afflicted persons and their relatives are under strong temptations to conceal the malady. Perhaps the ratio of 1.5 in one thousand inhabitants may be accepted as appproximately correct, and from this may be estimated the number in any particular state. In the United States there are thought to be about 113,000. But it is not claimed that all of this vast number need to be placed in institutions for their own good and in the interest of society.

Social Disadvantages. — These arise from the nature and effects of the malady. In industry the epileptic is unreliable where machinery is employed. Costly machines must run steadily and without interruption. One workman waits and depends upon another. The spasms interrupt continuous work, often at critical moments. There is much danger to the patient as well as to the others. In sociable intercourse the epileptic is an object of dread, and no one who has witnessed the person in a convulsion can quite escape from the haunting memory of the spectacle and entirely free his mind from terror or disgust. Hence there cannot be that free, unconstrained, and natural converse which gives pleasure to society.

The hereditary nature of the disease makes the person unfit for marriage and parenthood. There seems to be a popular superstition to the effect that marriage may cure the malady, but this is quite opposed to the scientific fact, and it must lead to vicious consequences.

Institutional Treatment. — Many epileptics, even serious sufferers, are permitted to wander about, in constant peril and a menace to others. Jails and county poorhouses shelter many of this unfortunate class. Some are thrust into jails because they are dangerous to life and property, and there is no other place to send them. Those found in poorhouses among paupers are accorded inade-

quate and often shameful treatment. Hospitals and asylums for the insane care for many of them, either in isolated buildings, special wards, or mingled with the insane. In the schools for feeble-minded children and youth are many epileptics, although the tendency at such places is to set apart separate buildings and grounds for members of this class.

Last of all there are special farm colonies, for epileptics alone, with all the arrangements particularly designed to heal their disease, to give them employment and recreation, and to make them self supporting by their own labor and as happy as they can be in this world.

There are good reasons for separate treatment of epileptics, at least to the extent of isolated houses and grounds. The diet must be specially adapted to the physical requirements of persons of this class. It must be largely vegetable food. Intelligent epileptics, children and adults, are sensitive to being classed with idiots, imbeciles, and the insane. In their conscious periods they are often as bright as other people. Special institutions can give better industrial training and employment suited to the peculiar needs. Epileptics ought not to be placed with the insane, if for no other reason, because the terrible spectacle of convulsions disturbs the nervous patients. Hence many of the epileptics are rejected from asylums for the insane because there is no proper accommodation for them. Public safety is more certainly insured by having institutions devoted to this class alone. Inheritance of defect can be prevented only by segregation and close custody.

Dispensary treatment of epileptics in cities is very unsatisfactory. No disease requires more special skill and careful seclusion of patients, with constant watchful care of skilful attendants. Poor families are utterly unable to give such patients the proper and necessary attention. Industrious families are burdened by the pressure of anxiety occasioned by an epileptic member, and are more surely rendered dependents on public charity.

It seems probable that medical science would be more rapidly and surely promoted by a higher degree of specialization, by the

study of causes and cure on the part of medical men devoted to a single field of research and clinical experience. Not only the entire class, but all society, will receive benefit from such investigations. In a colony where persons suffering from a common malady are neighbors, none are pained by the strange looks of normal people, and it has been noticed that a feeling of brotherhood soon grows up, and the companions in trouble show to each other the most tender, delicate attention.

The National Association for the Study of Epilepsy and the Care and Treatment of Epileptics was formed in 1898, and is a good illustration of the tendency to grouping of experts. This society states as its objects: the scientific study of epilepsy; the rational treatment of the disease; the best methods of caring for the dependent epileptics, including the construction of proper homes based upon a study of the epileptics' needs as to classification and environment; the study of the utilization of the epileptics' labor, for economic, scientific, and ethical reasons; the study of the best educational methods to be employed, including manual, industrial, intellectual, and moral forms and forces.

Buildings and Grounds. — Many problems of architecture, landscape gardening, sanitation, horticulture, and agriculture are involved, too technical for treatment here; and as they belong to special arts and crafts, the necessity of securing expert advice is apparent. It is of general importance to educate the public to understand the need of purchasing ample and rich grounds at the very beginning of the institution. This is most economical, because the price of land rises when it is known that the state wishes to purchase. It admits of forming a large plan, a design which will be of value to coming generations, and it provides for a variety of industries demanded by an isolated and self-supporting community.

It has been recommended to enact legislation making the marriage of epileptics illegal; and medical men are unanimous in advising against the union of persons afflicted with this disease. Perhaps such laws may have a certain limited effect in educating

the public mind and affecting sentiments and customs. But, as in the case of the insane and the feeble-minded, it is not enough to make such unions illegal; they must be made impossible by segregation and strict custody by officers of the state. County care cannot be trusted, as wide experience demonstrates.

2. Inebriates. — Drunkards come to poverty, and to such poverty as leads to beggary. Under present conditions in this country there are various legal and administrative methods of treating the inebriates: sometimes they are committed to hospitals for the insane, but are usually discharged as soon as the delirium is temporarily over; sometimes they are sent to special, private, or public hospitals, or to hospitals connected with workhouses. Few states provide care of any kind, or distinctly recognize in law the existence of this class of dependents.

Social policy is wavering, uncertain, and without principles. Usually the inebriate is neglected until he commits some public offence. Then he is arrested by the bold policemen, and committed by a court to jail or bridewell on a short sentence. This incarceration subjects him to the intimate companionship of thieves and vagabonds, gives even the occasional offender a criminal record, tends to extinguish the ambitions and hopes which might, under proper treatment, fortify his vacillating and enfeebled will.

Of the various "gold cures," in private institutions, the writer does not venture to express an opinion, since "doctors differ." They are at best inadequate to cope with this evil, and they come too late.

Public asylums, with voluntary residence, have been tried, and with discouraging results. They become merely "sobering up" places of retreat where the drunkard gathers strength for a new spree.

A more adequate treatment by society must rest on a consistent set of principles. Alcoholism is a disease akin to insanity, and is at once the effect of antecedent causes, and in turn produces a long series of evils to body and mind. It is closely connected with

poverty, both as cause and effect. Sometimes this dreadful malady first arises from an inherited diathesis, and often from the personal indulgence in a pleasant but dangerous habit, which becomes a merciless and unsparing despot. Frequently this disease leads to other vices and crimes, and when crime has been committed the man is passed over from the charity to the penal branch of government. But in many cases the inebriate is just a sick man, whose will power is broken, who does not respond to ordinary motives, and who requires medical care and nursing as truly as the insane, the epiletic, the cancerous, and consumptive.

The inebriate is not always a criminal, and therefore the prison system does not meet the demand. The inebriate is not insane, for all definitions of insanity exclude him until the toxic forces have permanently impaired the brain tissues and set up a serious and specific brain disease. The inebriate cannot be classed with the feeble-minded or epileptic. No existing institution is founded for his treatment or can be adapted to his needs.

And yet society, which permits the manufacture and sale of alcohol, which derives immense revenues from the traffic, which tolerates and makes fashionable the customs which encourage the use of stimulants, must hold itself responsible for the natural and inevitable results of these customs and fashions. The inebriate must have his own share of accountability, and must dearly pay, under the best of conditions, for his error and his sin. But the community also is under obligations to help him, if possible, to secure his health.

We may insist upon the public duty of founding and supporting charitable institutions for certain classes of inebriates, neither criminal nor insane; and we place the argument in this Part devoted to charity, rather than in that devoted to crime, because it is the just and logical place for the plea.

Since the disease of alcoholism is deep seated, persistent, and difficult to cure, such an institution must belong to the state, with legal police power of restraint and control, on the same principle which secures such powers to the officers of a hospital for the

insane or epileptics. Permanent cure of chronic alcoholism is ordinarily impossible without several years of enforced abstinence from intoxicants. A private asylum cannot detain and restrain its patients long enough to effect a real cure and eliminate the poison and its products from the system of the victim, and to form new and regenerated tissues. The patient must be required to exercise and employ himself usefully in the open air, and this no private asylum can compel. The courts should send only those of otherwise good character, and of whom there is hope of cure, to such a hospital. But even vagrant drunkards and vicious vagabonds could be treated in compulsory colonies.

The problem of relief for the innocent families of confirmed drunkards is full of perplexities. When persuasion has failed after fair trial the man should be placed under restraint, required to labor at some industry, and the wages earned by his work should go to support his wife and children. From this standpoint, again, the necessity for a public and compulsory institution can be made apparent. Such compulsion and restraint are based on the same principle as that on which restraint of the insane and the epileptic rest, — the welfare of the patient. It is not of the character of penal coërcion.



CHAPTER V.

STATE BOARDS AND FEDERAL FUNCTIONS.

1. Charitable Institutions of the State; *Initial Steps of Organization.* — Our country has not developed a complete and adequate system of public charitable institutions, even according to a moderate standard of humane treatment, and we must constantly study the best methods of establishing the means of proper and rational care. If there is a demand for an entirely new establishment, the primary step is the preparation of public opinion. Under our popular government permanent and cordial support of the legislature depends on general intelligence and conviction. Assuming the existence of a group of persons in the commonwealth who realize the need of a special institution, and who understand the essential requirements, these persons must collect and arrange the data for a community judgment. They would do well to ascertain the approximate number of the class which it is desirable to help; obtain reliable descriptions of their condition and sufferings, and their influence on social welfare; obtain expert statements of the best-known methods of caring for the persons under consideration, and the reasons for a special arrangement for their relief; and be able to give estimates of the cost of founding and maintaining such an establishment as is proposed.

A state board of charities is naturally the proper body to undertake this preliminary task. In the absence of such a body, or if it declines to act, the interest of a society professionally most entitled to consideration should be invoked to prepare for the agitation, as a board of health, a medical society, a bar association, or a conference of charitable people.

Then this material should be given the widest possible publicity, so that thousands of citizens will be set to thinking. The legislature is to be informed, urged, influenced, by a steady, discreet, patient presentation of the facts. Sometimes many years will elapse before a hearing can be obtained. Ignorance, apathy, dread of higher taxation, political fears, erect high and steep barriers in the way of the pioneers of progress.

Then comes the stage of legislative action, with a commission of investigation and inquiry, consideration in committee, preparation and discussion of bills, and final action. The function of the legislature is to enact mandatory laws creating an administrative board, with instructions and power to found and maintain an institution, and to require reports which will enlighten voters and furnish a basis for further legislation. The statute may also determine the powers and duties of the executive branch of government in relation to the movement.

Then follow the measures of the board. It organizes under the terms of the law, elects officers, makes by-laws, forms plans. Experts are consulted, and especially the secretary of the state board of charities. Superintendents of similar work are asked to give advice. The plans involve many technical details which cannot here be considered: as the selection of a site, improvement of grounds, architectural devices, provision for food, facilities for education and worship, occupations, recreations, and training of attendants.

Functions of the Board. — Where there is a board of directors over a state institution, its duties and powers are defined in the law creating it; and usually it is required to outline a general policy, inspect the workings and condition of the establishment, determine plans of keeping accounts and records, compare results and cost with those of similar institutions, and report faithfully to the people and governor all the data required for a judgment. The best results are obtained where the members of the board are appointed for their distinguished ability and fitness, without expectation of pecuniary rewards, the expenses of travel alone

being paid for them. Ordinary mercenary office-seekers are not tempted to invent devices and play tricks to secure such positions which require labor but do not give pay. Each state supports charitable institutions for the insane, the blind, the deaf mutes, the feeble-minded, and for others.

There are two different systems of management: one by the kind of board just mentioned, voluntary, unpaid, and specially interested in a single establishment; and the other system, found in a few states, under which all the state schools and asylums are placed under a single board of salaried officers who control the business of all from the capital.

In favor of the unpaid honor office system, with a special board for each place, may be pleaded the argument that the absence of a salary removes the position from the scrambles of political hacks; that a board of men devoted to a single form of charity can give it time and attention until they have become intelligent on the entire subject; and that they are not distracted by the variety of problems and interests of many kinds of care and training. There is a great advantage in having in such positions men whose sole motive is patriotic and humane. The honor office attracts to itself persons of the highest order of ability and administrative capacity, men who could not be induced to accept positions on a board whose members were paid and whose entire time must therefore be given up to the details of the office.

It is desirable to enlist, as widely as possible, the active participation and direct interest of as many citizens as possible, in the care of public wards. The rapid increase of wealth, leisure, and education is giving to the commonwealth a larger supply of this valuable kind of service.

If there is a general board of charities, with an expert secretary and a uniform system of accounts, the commonwealth is protected against abuses in the several institutions.

The alternative plan, to be mentioned, is liable to perversion; the offices are sought by political place hunters who have no special training for the work. It is also claimed that such a board

is most tempted to make subordinate appointments on partisan grounds, and so meddle with the internal arrangements of superintendents. All must admit, however, that excellent men have held office under this system of central boards of control.

It is argued in favor of a general board of control for all the charitable hospitals, schools, and asylums, or for a board of control for each class, that unpaid trustees cannot be expected to devote the necessary time to the discharge of the duties implied. To this plea it is replied that experience in Europe and America proves, on the widest scale, that trustees can be found who are willing to give time and labor freely to such social tasks, especially if there are competent and responsible superintendents, if there is a merit system of appointments, and if they are expected simply to decide questions of policy and not of petty details for which the superintendents are responsible.

It is asserted that superintendents under the unpaid board are practically without any controlling head. In reply to this it should be said that responsible heads ought not to be controlled in any meddlesome way. Their duties should be defined far enough to insure a consistent method, and their results should be judged by experts; but in the daily order of life they should have a free hand. Competent and strong men cannot succeed if there is constant interference with the details of their labors.

It has been asserted that recommendations for appropriations, while made in the name of the trustees, have really been dictated by the superintendents. The answer to this argument is that the recommendations, normally, must be suggested by the men who have hourly contact with local needs; that trustees are in position to check these demands by deliberation and discussion; and that the state board of charities should represent the public interest by a comparison of one year with another and of all records in all states. It is impossible for superintendents to go far from the general principles of successful administration without showing the irregularity in their accounts and records of administration.

While there should be a genial tolerance of both discussion and

experiment, the weight of argument and the authority of experience are at present distinctly on the side of the system under which unpaid boards are employed, in connection with a central state board to review the entire field and represent the common interest. It is important also that the members should not come from the same county, but should represent different localities, and not merely the interests of the neighborhood. If each board is composed of members who retire and are replaced according to classes, there will be a continuous element of members who have experience. It is not well to have them elected, since appointment by the governor retains all necessary control without the danger of political selection and absence of direct responsibility.

But much can be said in favor of erecting and maintaining, especially in the older and larger states, several boards, with duties defined according to the special nature of their task.

State Boards of Charity, Lunacy, and Correction. — For the function of supervision and direction of the state institutions through an administrative body it has been found desirable to appoint boards of competent persons charged with this duty. The tendency to specialization in older and more populous states is shown in the creation of separate bodies for the supervision or control of institutions of charity, lunacy, prisons, health, and education. It is impossible to govern such varied interests by general statutes, and the legislature is incompetent to frame practical rules of government. Administrative agents may be selected by the executive head of a commonwealth who are able to give particular attention to the various needs of the several classes of public wards. Pauperism and crime should be separated from each other in thought and practice, and both from insanity, health, and education. The problems are too vast and complex to intrust to a single board. There must be division of labor. It is impossible to find in any one man all the necessary qualifications for success in several different departments. A commission which has long devoted itself to the consideration of the wants of the insane is rarely composed of persons most suitable to serve as overseers

of prisoners. A board of health requires expert medical knowledge, while the leaders of public schools must be trained in the science and art of education.

There are two types of state boards of charities, distinguished by their functions and powers, one charged with supervision, and others with control. The objections to having a single board of control for all the institutions of a state have already been considered.

The proper field of a state board of charities is the supervision of all establishments of the commonwealth, and of voluntary associations which are philanthropic in character. It has power to require accounts to be kept on a uniform and prescribed plan, so that results may be compared. All officials are under legal obligation to afford all necessary facilities for the study of conditions, working, and discipline. The board represents the interests of the entire people of the state, whose sacrifices furnish support and whose fortunes are affected by the use or abuse of corporate powers. Such a board, having no direct and administrative responsibilities, is independent of each particular institution, and is in a position to weigh and compare the claims of all with just and fair judgment.

Their recommendations to the legislature have an authority and presumption of impartiality which cannot be expected of the local boards. The public is justified in a certain reserve in accepting the statements, the claims, and the requests of a controlling body which may be expected to favor its own policy and conduct.

A supervisory state board of charities may have certain quasi-administrative duties assigned it without impairing its general character. Thus it may be empowered to examine and pass upon all plans for county, city, and state buildings, as asylums, poor-houses, jails, and the law may require their approval before contracts can be let. They may also be required to remove paupers from the state or from one institution to another within the state, when such changes promise to promote justice and efficiency of treatment.

The political principle of administration at the basis of all state boards is very wide and vital. The people of the entire commonwealth have an interest, financial and moral, even in institutions with local support and control, as schools, agricultural and technical colleges, police of cities, taxation, municipal finances, and industries and charities. The principle may be formulated thus: when the interest of the entire people of the commonwealth is involved in local administration, the best regulative agency is a supervisory board or a commission, appointed by the executive branch, and acting continuously to safeguard the interest of the commonwealth.

The reasons for adopting this principle are: That a central board or commission, so appointed, is more apt to be composed of able and competent men. They act before the public view and are held to a higher standard of responsibility and efficiency. They have a wider field for observation and camparison of conditions and methods. They can command the most efficient means of securing information.

The special and occasional examinations by temporary committees of legislatures are utterly inadequate, because they have not the previous and continuous training which secures expert judgment.

2. National Functions in Charity.—The general theory of legislation in the United States is that charity and correction are functions of commonwealths and of local governments. But since the District of Columbia belongs to no particular state, its local institutions are under the control of Congress and are administered by the national legislature through local bodies.

By an Act of Congress, approved June 6, 1900, entitled "An Act to establish a board of charities for the District of Columbia," the present board of five members is appointed by the President, with consent of the Senate. These gentlemen serve without compensation. The secretary, appointed by the board, is paid a salary and administers the office. The act abolishes the former office of superintendent of charities for the district. The board has power to visit, inspect, and maintain a general supervision over all

institutions, societies, or associations of a charitable, eleemosynary, correctional, or reformatory character which are supported in whole or in part by appropriations of Congress, made for the care or treatment of residents of the District of Columbia. Plans for new institutions must be submitted to the criticism of this board. The Commissioners of the District may at any time order this board to make investigations, and annual reports and estimates are to be sent to Congress through the Commissioners.

The policy of subsidizing private institutions has been followed in the past, and the board of 1900 repeats the complaints of previous officials that this policy is disastrous. "The almost universal experience has been that a charity has been organized by private parties, and for a time supported by private sources, but soon a small appropriation has been asked, and an increase has been demanded from year to year, until the point is reached when the charity is practically dependent upon the public treasury for support, while at the same time its management remained entirely in the hands of a private corporation."

The board proposes to act upon the principle that complete public control shall in every case reach as far as public money; to pay a specific amount, under contract, for specific services rendered; and to retain the right to govern the admission of patients to hospitals which receive public money.

Indirectly the national government renders highly important aid to all works of philanthropy by gathering data for the scientific study of the depressed social classes. The decennial census reports are very valuable to the student. The Bureau of Education collects statistics of schools for defectives, and the study of abnormal man has been greatly promoted by contributions from this source. The Department of Labor publishes the results of economical investigations, which are of the highest importance to our discipline.

Of recent years the federal authorities have taken in hand the regulation and restriction of the immigration of defective immigrants, and no lower authority could effectively control this vast stream of evil.

PART IV.

An Introduction to Criminal Sociology.

We have from this point to deal with the social phenomena of crime and criminals, and with the social arrangements for repressing antisocial conduct. The scientific task of describing these phenomena in an orderly way, of explaining them by causes, and of dealing with them according to regulative principles discovered in and approved by experience, has been called Criminal Sociology.

The Act of Crime in Relation to Morality. — While crime and immorality occupy in part of their extent a common ground, they are not identical throughout. Ingratitude, for example, is morally evil and base, and tends to dissolve the moral relations of society. It is severely reprobated by all men of character, and in literature is held up to severe criticism. But ingratitude, as a disposition, is never called a crime in the proper sense. Extravagance may be very foolish and wicked, but it is not found mentioned in the criminal code. Thus it is seen that morality goes far deeper than criminal law, and includes in its scope many phases of the inner life which the legislator can never reach with the rude and clumsy machinery of statutes. Morality considers motives as well as acts; criminal law deals with overt actions and only incidentally with motives. The immoral includes both inner dispositions and outward deeds which are condemned by the ethical standards of heart and life; and these ethical standards are held by the mind of society and expressed in its literature, personal criticism, rewards and punishments of ordinary intercourse, and by religious sermons and church discipline.

Positive criminal law deals with external acts. An act is properly called criminal when it has been prohibited by government, and a penalty has been denounced against the doer of the forbidden act. One who neglects what is commanded by constituted authority may also be legally guilty of a crime. Criminal law is a body of legislation which defines forbidden acts and publishes penalties. The law may make an action criminal which is not in itself morally evil; as, for example, driving on the left side of a bridge, or riding a bicycle on a park path.

Religion in Relation to Crime. — It is the social function of religion to give divine sanction to the social belief of what is morally good. Crime, so far as it is believed to be evil and injurious to the community, is condemned by religion in the high ethical forms in which we know it. So far as crime injures the criminal himself and brings him to ruin, pity and compassion are mingled with reprobation, and the sense of common brotherhood is never quite lost.

Criminal sociology considers crime from the standpoint of social welfare. It rests on a study, as profound and complete as possible, of the nature and laws of crime as a social phenomenon, anti-social conduct — acts, habits, and customs which antagonize the normal ends of human society, the conditions of general welfare, of order and of progress, of the most complete life and satisfaction of the entire community. By "laws" of crime we mean, in this connection, the observed uniformities in the ways of criminals. The next step is the study of the causes of crime, of the conditions in nature, in physical states, and social environment which tend to produce or increase the disposition to injurious acts. In the same direction we must study the direct effects of forbidden conduct, as a disturbing factor in relation to social welfare; and also the reaction against crime in the awakening of a community feeling and conviction and discriminating judgment; the impulsive, instinctive, and reflective stages of the reaction; the formation of a theory of the purpose and form of penalty; the institutions created by social beliefs, as penal law,



rules of judicial procedure, penitentiary systems, fines, awards, and preventive measures.

The scientific task of criminal sociology is not done until it has found standards of criticism, and shaped canons of judgment for improvement in the actual system of treating crime, whether by legislation, public custom, or by voluntary action.

The Relation of Criminal Sociology to other Disciplines. — Criminal sociology derives part of its data from history, and especially from the history of crimes and penalties in all ages, countries, and stages of culture. It is in this historical treatment that we discover the general tendencies and cyclic changes of human thought on the subject, and of corresponding methods.

Physical geography, so far as it explains the influence of soil, climate, and other territorial conditions on human nature, habits, and efforts, is an important auxiliary science.

Criminal sociology derives part of its data from criminal anthropology, which, in turn, draws from comparative and human anatomy, physiology, psychology.

But debt and obligation are woven together into the entire life of progressive thinking, and there are reciprocal relations everywhere. Criminal anthropology asks help from ethnology and sociology for a determination of the normal characteristics of races, and the laws of normal social development, order, and progress. Illustrations will be given at several points in the argument.

Criminal sociology is closely connected with criminal law; and, while they are distinct, they react upon each other. Through the political organization of governments society determines the general rules which define the duties of citizens to each other and to the community. Criminal politics is defined by von Liszt as a systematic study of principles by which juristic order is defended against crime by means of penalty and other agencies. It is founded on the scientific study of crime, in itself, in its causes, and of penalty in its applications and effects. It places in action and realizes in practice the data of criminal sociology. Its branches are penal law, criminal procedure, and penitentiary legislation.



Criminal sociology not only furnishes data to criminal politics, but reviews all legislation and penal administration, with the purpose of testing their provisions and methods in the light of principles derived from its own survey of the social facts and effects of crime.

The Value of Criminal Sociology. — It is quite generally admitted that men of law, advocates and judges, legislators and statesmen, need to consider the data furnished by a systematic study of those conditions which demand law and require modifications of statutes. Human law, however complete and systematic, is not ultimate. Society is constantly changing, and is affected by new circumstances and forces. The book of codes must yield to social life, and conform to the conditions of welfare. Sociology is devoted to the systematic study of these conditions, and thus furnishes the foundation for modifications of law.

For criminal lawyers and judges, however, something more is required than a study of criminal sociology in its academic form. The Bureau of the International Union of Criminalists said: "With a view to the more thorough education of criminalists, and especially to their preparation for the practice of the law, it is desirable that the training given them should no longer be confined to the criminal law. Either by means of optional courses, open to all university students, or else by special courses designed for practising jurists, a broader and deeper knowledge should be imparted to them of the causes of crime in general, the peculiarities of criminals, and the best methods of inflicting legal penalties."

An elementary introduction to these topics, and their literature, is given in this volume. Lawyers who propose to follow the practice of criminal law, as advocates or judges, ought, also, to have courses in medical science, neurology, psychology, psychiatry, and physical anthropology; they should reside and work in a prison at least one year, should practise in criminal courts, and join to this the history and theory of criminal law.

It is hoped that this course may be found helpful to younger

LANE MEDICAL LIBRARY O
STA
36C
PALO ALTO, CALIFORNI



prison officers and superintendents of reformatories and parental schools. It will suggest methods of observation, the results of race experience in the administration of penalty, the higher ideals of their profession, a wider and juster view of the relations of their occupations to the general social movement, and a key to the select literature of their calling. It is not pretended that such book or class study can be a substitute for actual experience under trained superintendents or wardens. There is an art in dealing with particular kinds of people which cannot be learned from books, and there is a skill in that art which only practice can give. But a mastery of fundamental facts and principles will give a charm and power to practice and lift it above the monotonous level of mere slavish imitation.

The chief object of this discussion is to prepare intelligent citizens to be social leaders of public opinion, and give right direction to thought in relation to crime. It will be seen as we proceed that society can protect itself against crime by more efficient means than reformatories and prisons; that these formal and direct measures come too late for the highest preventive efficacy; that the general and positive movement of a community upward toward a universal and coöperative life of culture and virtue is, in reality, the only security against the growth of a crime class. Therefore, while the technical questions of prison management, of court practice, and of detective service are of interest chiefly to a professional class, the study of the social causes of crime and community education are of interest to every good citizen.



CHAPTER I.

DATA OF CRIMINAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

Close to the wall was a circle of street Arabs, awed into silence and respect by the charm of this remarkable personality. Next to them came a ring of women — some of them old and gray, with haggard and wrinkled countenances upon which Time, with its antique pen, had traced many illegible hieroglyphs; some of them young and bedizened with tinsel jewellery and flashy clothing; not a few of them middle-aged, wan, dispirited, and bearing upon their hips bundles wrapped in faded shawls, from which came occasionally that most distressing of sounds, the wail of an ill-fed and unloved infant crying in the night.

Outside of this zone of female misery and degradation there was a belt of masculine stupidity and crime: men with corpulent bodies, bull necks, double chins, pile-driving heads; men of shrunken frames, cadaverous cheeks, deep-set and beady eyes, vermin-covered, disease-devoured, hope-deserted. They clung around him, these concentric circles of humanity, like rings around a luminous planet, held by they knew not what resistless attraction.—C. F. Goss, "The Redemption of David Corson," p. 335.

THE first step in the systematic study of the phenomena of antisocial conduct is to distinguish the characters of the heterogeneous class who come together under the condemnation of the criminal law. Who is the criminal? What are the peculiarities of his nature and constitution, and what are the marks of different kinds of criminals? Superficial notice of a file of prisoners in the penitentiary yard, all clothed in the dreary uniform, with close-cropped hair and shaven face, marching in lock step from shop to cells, may reveal no marked differences. But closer observation and daily contact soon compel one to distinguish markedly different classes of men under the apparent sameness. Prison officers are compelled to recognize various groups for practical



purposes of discipline. But modern studies of the physical and psychical aspect of convict life have made the distinction still more clear, and traced them back, in many cases, to anatomical conditions of brain and muscle.

1. The Standard of Normal Man. — The starting-point for our study of abnormal man must be a conception of a normal man and of normal social relations. Criminals present all degrees and modes of departure from this ideal. Our image of the normal may not be exact, and it will require much thought and care to make it as distinct as science will permit. But very marked irregularities or deformities are noticed even by children, and we have but to carry this process of judgment into details, by the aid of many measurements and tests, in order to attain a fairly reliable standard of comparison of the normal with the abnormal.

We may begin with the *normal type of the body*. Anatomy and physiology present a type of a healthy human body, although this type varies within limits with the peculiarities of each race. The physical type preferred by each race may be supposed, generally speaking, to represent the form and condition adapted, on the whole, to the environment of that race, and this form is admired by men and women. Artificial deformities and mutilations must be explained according to the special origin of each, but the effects of such mutilations seem to be rarely inherited. In the figures of Greek sculpture and of great paintings of the best schools we may discover the forms which the culture races of Europe regard as most perfect, although artificial deformities, for particular reasons, are only too common, owing to irrational and conventional standards of taste. Making all necessary allowance for these exceptional departures from the type, it is certain that ideal forms may be presented in art with an approximation to truth, and that these classic models are a fairly reliable standard of comparison.

Normal Psychical Type. — In actual dealing with men and women daily experience trains one to recognize certain manifestations of mental action and habit as normal, while others

strike the shrewd observer as eccentric and peculiar in all degrees from oddity and slowness to actual imbecility or mania.

The power to adjust one's thinking, likes, and choices to his natural and social environment, is a mark of normal psychical action. A merely casual observation may not reveal the defect, and we must sometimes notice actions for a considerable period and under a variety of circumstances to detect the eccentricity. Conduct reveals the equilibrium or loss of balance of the inner and spiritual mechanism. There is an order of living, acting, and thinking, for a given age and community, which is necessary for the common welfare, at least for existence and survival. Adjustment, adaptation, to this order is regarded as morality, as right social conduct. This order has been the product of trial and selection. The societies and groups of men which failed to develop and maintain a moral order have perished. The individuals who do not conform tend to become extinct.

The order which is best is constantly changing, and thus new adjustments must be made. Hence in times of rapid improvement and elevation, like the present century, the difficulty of readjustment is very great. We may expect an increase of crime during the transition, until most men have either learned to make the adjustment to the new order, or have been cut off. In times and areas of degeneration, of general dissolution or decay of social life, the difficulty is even greater and the perils of crime increased.

2. Study of Psychical Manifestations. — The mental self reveals its thoughts, feelings, habitual modes of inner activities, will, and purpose through words, actions, gestures, conduct; and therefore, the methods employed in laboratories of physiological psychology and psychophysics are useful in the interpretation of mental reactions to external stimuli. Thus it is possible to discover by scientific tests, even without placing a boy in a telegraph office to learn the trade, that he will be too slow in hearing and responding to be successful at this craft, since the customary rate of giving and taking messages is too rapid for his senses to keep pace with the average speed of operators.

The Method of Introspection. — In the last analysis we can understand the mental processes of other persons only by interpreting the signs of their acts of consciousness in terms of our own psychical experience. There is no direct way of discovering the mental state of another human being; the only possible bridge across the space between souls is the outward action as interpreted by our own memory of our own personal states. We connect with certain bodily gestures and sounds certain definite kinds of thoughts, feelings, and purposes. There is always danger of error, simulation, misinterpretation, and yet the type of the normal is ever before us, and our ability to conduct our affairs depends on our success in making approximately correct interpretations.

3. Materials for the General Student. — Occasionally it is possible to have personal interviews with criminals, and sometimes we are forced by the business of life to have dealings with abnormal and perverted persons. Burglars may introduce themselves at midnight into our houses, or highwaymen hold us up in unexpected ways. Pickpockets reveal their moral nature in thronged streets. Tramps deceive us with plaintive stories and dramatic accounts of imaginary biographies.

The daily newspapers report only too many details of the testimony in criminal trials, and the evidence brought out is an important source of knowledge of criminal character. The self-revelations of criminals in their confessions, letters, articles, books, may be studied. The records of the studies of experts and specialists, their descriptions of typical cases, and their pictures from the "rogues' gallery" are instructive. On all such subjects our information must be obtained from original investigators. Knowledge thus obtained is even more reliable than that obtained by one who, without training, attempts to discover facts at first hand. Our conduct must ordinarily be guided by such information. But there is always room for new investigations by specialists who start with adequate training for observation and interpretation.

4. Methods of Studying Criminals. — Not all these methods are open to students in academic surroundings. Specialists alone are

competent to use with authority the instruments of precision, and to interpret the phenomena. The college and university student can, however, test and correct his own impressions, and the suggestions of his readings, by the use of some of these methods if he is under the direction of a competent teacher, and has materials for observation. But such serious study must, in the interest of personal morality, science, and humanity, be carefully distinguished from prurient slumming expeditions and midnight forays in nether social regions to gratify a base and salacious curiosity.

Physical Measurements and Analyses. — Criminals of all types, classes, and ages are measured to discover the bodily traits which are common to all or characteristic of classes. These measurements are valuable only under conditions as yet imperfectly met. The measurements of criminals must be compared with those of at least an equal number of non-criminal citizens whose conduct is actually adjusted to the order of society. Where criminality is an acquired habit, we must not assume that the inherited structure has determined the crime impulse. The connection must be established by competent proof.

These physical measurements and descriptions apply to all organs, tissues, parts, and functions. They are not only measurements of length, breadth, thickness, but also of weight, density, chemical reactions, secretions, physiological changes. They are studied in close relations with other manifestations of vitality and character, and are not to be taken alone.

5. Classes of Criminals. — Using the word "criminal" in the legal sense, as a person who endures a penal sentence, we find actually in penitentiaries and reformatories classes of human beings quite distinct from each other in physical and psychical traits. Indeed, many of these convicts do not properly belong by nature to the criminal group, when we use the word "criminal" to describe the antisocial person who is responsible for his acts.

The "*accidental*" criminal. This term is used to designate those who have actually transgressed some "criminal" statute, and exposed themselves to the penalty of the code provided for the

act. But they do not bear in their bodies, nor show in the habitual workings of their mental and moral life, any distinct marks of perverted nature. Occasionally good and strong men, through anger, intoxication, or severe temptation, commit acts which are obviously foreign to their ordinary modes of conduct. Such cases are rare, and, for our present purpose, insignificant. They are not often arrested, because the act is recognized as one which does not belong to the man, and he is always ready to make due reparation.

The *eccentric reformer* and the *moral genius*. Under this title may be classed those who are treated as rebels by their contemporaries, but honored as martyrs by more enlightened posterity. It is among the tragedies of our world order that genius and superior character may make a man obnoxious to those whom he is ready to serve with his very life. In such a case there is no help for it: Socrates must drink his poison; Jeremiah must lie in his dungeon; Paul must be beaten and stoned; even Jesus must be crucified as a malefactor. Interesting as such cases are, they do not belong to our subject. If eccentric persons prove to be insane they are proper subjects for special treatment for nervous disease by physician or asylum; if they are simply erratic and disagreeable we must tolerate them with some patience and merriment; while if they are really adjudged antisocial in disposition, though intelligent, they will fall under one of the classes of criminals here to be considered.

While we are making a business of excluding from the criminal class those charged with crime but not properly criminals, we may pay a little attention to the so-called "*insane criminals*." These are persons who suffer from a lack or atrophy of moral sense, while they display an apparent integrity of logical powers of thought. This condition may be either congenital or acquired. It bears various names in the literature of the subject, as moral imbecility, or reasoning madness. There are many degrees and manifestations of this form of insanity, and sometimes it may be difficult even for the expert alienist to distinguish between mere

hard wickedness and actual brain defect. The fundamental psychical state is in some respects akin to that of the innate or instinctive criminal.

It should be distinctly noted that we are not here thinking of those insane persons, of previous normal and moral character, who, in a pathological state, as frenzy, epilepsy, delirium of fever, become dangerous to their neighbors and so require restraint.

Are "*moral imbeciles*" responsible? The question is more easily asked than answered. Passing by the metaphysical and theological problem involved, and considering simply the matter of social defence, we may properly leave the question unanswered. It is enough for our practical purpose to conclude that the moral imbecile requires some kind of permanent restraint, segregation, guardianship, and employment, both for his own real good and for the safety of others. If the moral imbecile is clearly insane, he cannot fall within the legal definition of a criminal, because the code clears all insane persons from criminal responsibility. But still social defence calls for confinement. If capacity for crime clearly exists, the physical and mental defect may be adjudged too slight to be named insanity. There are cases of an intermediate kind difficult for experts to define, and in judicial trials there may be serious conflict of medical testimony, because the data are obscure and complicated. In this situation the court and jury must exercise their best discretion, but social security should be guarded by prolonged medical observation of the subject.

The *instinctive criminal*, sometimes called the criminal born or the incorrigible. Persons of this class manifest in the most marked way the physical and psychical anomalies noted by the criminal anthropologists. Ferri says of them, "They are types of a man savage and brutal, or knavish and lazy, who cannot distinguish between crime and any honest industry." It seems better to designate the members of this class instinctive rather than innate or congenital criminals, in order to avoid the assumption that their traits result from heredity. Some of the most marked psychical traits of confirmed criminals may be acquired.

Criminals by acquired habits, tending to become professional criminals. These persons have not striking marks of the instinctive criminal, and apparently no innate tendency to antisocial conduct. There may be a hidden moral weakness which easily yields to the impulses of circumstances and corrupting environment. Impunity at the first lapses increases the tendency to secure the objects of desire without labor. The forbidden acts, going without detection and punishment, form the links in a chain of habits which ever grows heavier. Habits make character. Theft becomes a profession. Acquaintance with older criminals in the free intercourse of jail, brothel, and common prison life stimulates antisocial feelings, inflames the imagination, furnishes companionship of the bad, makes the man reckless of the opinion of upright people, and increases the stock of criminal schemes. Alcoholism is a strong factor in many cases, although not in all. The neglect of good men before and in the intervals of incarceration leaves them the prey of idleness, temptation, misery, and shuts them out from honest careers.

Criminals by habit have two marks, very common in the class, precocity and recidivism. They begin at an early age and tend to become repeaters of lawless acts, because they know no other course, and have adapted themselves to only one mode of life. They generally begin with crimes against property. Dickens describes the method of training a boy to the criminal habit in his story of Fagin in "Oliver Twist."

Habitual criminals should be divided into two classes, the aimless vagabond, and the professionals in the crime trade or art.[1] The vagabonds have inferior strength, courage, energy, and inventiveness, and live by ruse, low cunning, imposture, begging. The professional criminals learn a regular trade in some branch of the craft of dishonesty, and pursue it steadily until arrested and convicted. Many of the older men become capitalist managers in the occupation, and employ bold young rogues to execute their schemes of plunder.

[1] Ruggles-Brise, Bulletin Commission, "Pénitentiaire Internationale," 4e ser., Liv. II., 1900, 2e vol., p. 247.

It is interesting and important to observe that there are social ranks and distinctions in both these classes, just as truly as in the high "society" which sets the "Four Hundred" on the right hand of fashionable judgment, and the common herd of aspirants on the left. There is a very striking difference in the appearance of the drunken, incompetent, and degenerate crowd of a city workhouse, and the relatively more intelligent and vigorous convicts of a state penitentiary. The members of these ranks have no dealings with each other, if they can help it.

Criminals by Passion. — Certain anthropologists have thus designated convicts of previous blameless conduct; persons of sanguine temperament, with exaggerated sensibility and irritability, which distinguishes them from instinctive and habitual criminals. They sometimes have a tendency to insanity or epilepsy. They repent with sincere remorse, and their moral taste revolts against the companionship of vicious and depraved persons found in prisons. They have not the serious marks of physical defect which belong to the "criminal born." Their crimes are commonly committed against the person, as in violent reaction against offence or insult, and are done only under severe provocation. If carefully and wisely treated at an early stage, they turn from the way of crime and afterward become good citizens. During the storm and stress period of adolescence, many youths temporarily lose much of the power of inhibition of impulses; and it is a pity that parents and teachers have so little understanding of the nature of the changes going on during these years, and so little sympathy with the difficulties of lads at this time.

Criminals by Occasion. — In these there is no natural and native tendency to crime. Generally they fall by force of some temptation in personal conditions or in the physical and social environment. They do not lapse if the temptations are removed and the opportunity is opened to a steady life of habitual industry. The crimes are either against person or property, but, having moral sensibility, these persons are capable of remorse and repentance. There is

usually lack of foresight of consequences and a ready yielding to impulses, characteristic of youth. Many adolescents are wild and irregular because the higher brain areas are yet undeveloped, the power of reflection and consideration has not yet been trained, and self remains still the centre of regard. If judiciously educated and busily employed such persons often grow up to be reliable men; but their danger is very great, and parental solicitude is warranted by the real peril.

6. Relative Numbers of Each Class. — While there are typical cases of all groups, there are many intermediary stages, and no absolute boundaries can be fixed between them. Some persons seem to belong to two of the classes, having characters of both.

Ferri thinks that insane criminals, so-called, and criminals by passion are most rare, perhaps five to ten per cent of all; but it must be remembered that those who are evidently insane are usually at once sent to the hospitals, and never come under arrest, only the doubtful cases being indicted for crime. Ferri thinks that instinctive and habitual criminals are from forty to fifty per cent of all, but of these two classes the instinctive criminals number only about two or three per cent of the total. Thus the criminals by occasion and habit would constitute the great majority of convicts.

7. Other Modes of Classification. — It is evident that there are other ways of possible classification. All attempts to make fast limits fail in many particular cases.

Krauss makes three groups based on the fundamental character common in each: the energetic, the vicious, the weak. Among the energetic he finds the desperate monster, the choleric, and the passionate. Among the vicious he notes the sub-classes of the demonic or revengeful, the intriguing, the knave. Among the weaklings, the ragamuffin, the sneak, the vagabond, the half-brute (Caliban).

Drähms excludes the insane altogether, as irresponsible before criminal law, and makes three classes, the instinctive, the habitual, and the single offender. But the term "single" offender seems

to be too weak for misdemeanants, since it is rare that a convict is required to endure even a short sentence unless his previous habits have led him logically to a lawless act.

For practical purposes of prison discipline it is common to divide all offenders into the classes, juvenile offenders, reformatory cases, habitual criminals, and criminal insane, with further division according to sex. Here again classification is based on social exigencies rather than on the nature of the offender; and therefore superintendents must discriminate and distinguish sub-classes in their institutions, and seek to keep the less hardened offenders apart from the influence of those more depraved and abandoned.

The purely legal distinctions according to the nature of the crime, as rebels, thieves, robbers, throw little light on the actual physical and psychical nature of the convict.

8. **"The Criminal Type."** — At this point we may give a little space to the consideration of a much controverted topic which has, perhaps, been discussed beyond its merits. Yet the discussion has a value in impressing the importance of basing all social treatment on the nature of the criminal rather than on the artificial distinctions of the codes which notice only acts. The eminent ability and services of those who believe they have found a criminal variety of the human race entitle them to a respectful consideration. It is incredible to suppose that their labors have been entirely fruitless, although their theories are the matter of serious debate.

It will make for clearness and precision of statement and understanding if we distinguish in the writings of this "school" of criminal anthropologists, (1) their definitions and descriptions of the type, (2) their explanation of the fact, (3) their metaphysical assumptions, (4) their recommendations of a practical nature for legislation and penal treatment. At this point of our study we are primarily concerned with the first point, their views of the type itself.

In Lombroso's introduction to MacDonald's "Criminology" we have a definition of "type": "It is necessary to receive this idea

with the same reserve with which we appreciate averages in statistics. When it is said that the average of life is thirty-two years, and that the month most fatal to life is December, no one understands by this that all, or almost all, men should die at thirty-two years and in the month of December. . . . 'The type,' says Gratiolet, 'is a synthetic impression.' 'The type,' says Goethe, 'is the abstract and general image which we deduce from the observation of common parts and from differences.' 'The type of a species,' says Isodorus St. Hilaire, 'never appears before our eyes, but is perceived only by the mind.' The type is an *ensemble* of traits, but in relation to a group which it characterizes, it is also the *ensemble* of its most prominent traits, and those repeating themselves most often."

Within this variety there are several sub-varieties of the criminal type. But the delinquent man, in general, is declared to present certain marks of physical and psychical defect which are described with such minuteness and detail as to fill many volumes of illustrations. Some of these marks may be briefly summarized.

We are to look for a skull of average size, although extremes are frequent. Thieves have small heads, and murderers large heads. Persons of the long-headed or broad-headed races show exaggerations of the racial characteristic. The pointed skull is frequent; the lower jaw is heavy; the orbit of the eye is too large for the normal; there is want of symmetry in the head; the forehead recedes; the zygomatic arch is large and prominent.

Dissections of the brains of instinctive criminals reveal defects of weight, shape, quality of cells, development of convolutions; and those defects which are occasionally found in normal people are accumulated in greater number in criminals. Diseased conditions are frequent, pigmentation, degenerating capillaries, cysts, thickened and adhering membranes, vestiges of hyperæmia, hemorrhages, and meningitis.

The faces of delinquents are said to show the effects of unfavorable environments, habits, and associations. There is a downcast, sullen, dejected, despairing look, and often a strange pallor of

countenance. While many of these effects are ascribed to environment, confinement, and discipline, there are organic and inherited deformities of the face. The physiognomy reveals a general intellectual inferiority, want of expression, cunning rather than intelligence; and the dull, unresponsive look, natural or acquired, speaks a moral nature out of harmony with social environment and its demands.

It has even been claimed that the various kinds of criminals may be detected by their facial expression, and without knowledge of previous history; the murderers and housebreakers by their heavy lower jaws; those guilty of rape, or tending to sexual offences, by the projecting eye, delicate features, thick lips, and eyelids; homicides by the glassy, cold, immobile look; forgers and swindlers by their artless and confiding glances.

Many observations of delinquents have revealed frequent monstrosities in teeth, ears, nose, and wrinkles. There are extensive monographs full of illustrations of each of these kinds of defect. There are statistics showing typical criminals to have, as a rule, scant beard and abundant hair, with rare baldness. The skeleton shows abnormally long arms, like those of the lower races. The muscular system is feeble, incapable of continuous effort, although capable of very vigorous effort for short time and fitfully, under the spur of excitement.

Examination of the viscera on the anatomical table reveals defective lungs, frequent heart disease, monstrosities, and diseases of the sexual organs.

The nervous system exhibits in the laboratory insensibility to pain from heat, cold, pressure, and pricking; excessive susceptibility to electric changes and variations in humidity; agility and quickness, with low power of endurance; many instances of color blindness; tendency to left-handedness; incapacity for blushing; feeble vascular reaction; imperfections of olfactory organs and sense of taste. It is also said that criminals recover rapidly from wounds.

When we turn to psychical experiences and manifestations in

gesture, posture, vocabulary, æsthetic works, letters, and other experiences, we discover a moral system and modes of reasoning peculiar to the delinquent. There is inferior resistance to temptations, due to ill-balanced impulsiveness, vanity, want of foresight, feeble power of concentration, absence of remorse and regard for the interests of others, and tendency to relapse into crime.

These illustrations might be multiplied indefinitely; they all tend to prove that a certain class of delinquents, who have been studied in great numbers, are distinctly different from normal men and inferior in both body and mind.

As to the extent of application of these descriptions to convicts; it is not asserted by the advocates of the view here presented that the signs of criminal nature are found in all law-breakers. "The data of criminal anthropology are not entirely applicable, in their complete and essential form, to all who commit crimes. They are to be confined to a certain number, who may be called congenital, incorrigible, and habitual criminals. But apart from these there is a class of occasional criminals who do not exhibit, or who exhibit in slighter degrees, the anatomical, physiological, and psychological characteristics which constitute the type described by Lombroso as the criminal man" (Ferri).

If we turn from definition and description to explanation of the causes which produce the delinquent man, we encounter a series of statements which can be best considered in our next chapter; but it should be noted in this immediate connection that the writers under consideration count among the chief causes atavism, degeneration, inherited defect of structure, and the perverting and depressing influence of external conditions.

The controversy over the question is due to a radical scepticism both as to the fact and the causes. That a considerable number of criminals are inferior in body and mind to other men, owing to hereditary and environmental causes, is beyond doubt. But the nature of the defect and its relation to remote ancestral causes are in doubt. There is a certain number of criminals who share common characters with the feeble-minded, the insane by inheritance, and

the epileptic; but this fact does not require us to set up a "criminal type" separate from other defectives. The truth seems to be that, so far as we are dealing with inferior persons, we find exactly the same evidences of defect in the weaker criminals which we find in members of the same degenerate stock of related individuals who do not commit crime, but become vagabonds, paupers, or inmates of asylums.

Féré says on this point: "It is a very important fact to notice that whatever may be the origin of the degenerate, whether he be the son of a delinquent, an insane person, an epileptic, or an ataxic, an alcoholic, or a sexual pervert, the stigmata which he bears cannot serve to distinguish him from another degenerate of another origin. All these stigmata are common to all categories of degenerates; and when one discovers a new stigma, one knows at the same time that it is not special to a group; for this reason the efforts made to establish a criminal type have been vain."

Some statements of Lombroso himself seem to accept this position of Féré. In his introductory note to Drähms's "The Criminal," Lombroso writes: "These latter (congenital criminals) agree with all other degenerate species — microcephalics, epileptics, cretins — mental, moral, or physical, in possessing a marked resemblance one to another, even though born in countries most widely separated. These anthropological conditions are the manifest result of an arrested embryological development."

The metaphysical system of Lombroso and his school, based on strict determinism, does not concern us here, since we are studying phenomena and their relations, and not the philosophy of free will or fate. And the ethical philosophy relating to the ground and purpose of penalty must be deferred to the proper place.

9. Value of the Study of Criminal Anthropology.— Apart from the speculations and conclusions of any particular school of anthropologists, we may recognize the vast importance of such studies of the criminal. It is unlikely that courts will ever convict any

person charged with crime because he has a forbidding physiognomy, a suspicious air, or pointed skull, or large ears. Nor is it probable that brains will be examined on suspicion that they conceal the stigmata of degeneracy. After all that is done by criminal anthropologists, it will be necessary to summon witnesses of the fact and observe the form of procedure approved by experience.

But, short of absurd extremes, it may be fairly claimed that the studies of criminals and other defectives have already made important contributions to prison science and education. The writer may here quote the language of his report on the subject of Prison Laboratories presented and indorsed by the National Prison Association in 1900, Mr. R. W. McClaughry and Mr. Z. R. Brockway being associated in the committee charged with the presentation of the report.

The subject of inquiry set for your committee was this: Is it wise to recommend the experimental establishment of laboratories in a limited number of prisons and reformatories for the study of physical, psychical, and social facts of criminal nature and life; such laboratories to be directed by specially trained investigators, and under control of wardens or superintendents?

We may cite experiments already made in this direction which throw light on the subject, *e.g.* the Bertillon measurements. These are physical, and for an immediate practical purpose — the identification of adult convicts. They are auxiliary to the detective machinery of police. The measurements are not usually taken by men of scientific training, and yet some of the records have considerable value to the student of the phenomena of crime. It is possible that, with additional assistance and direction, this system might be extended, and rendered still more accurate and valuable. Care must be taken, however, not to load down the system and burden busy police with complicated and delicate measurements. The immediate practical object must be kept at all cost in strict control.

In some of our prisons and reformatories physical measurements are already taken for the practical purpose of directing the selection of suitable gymnastic exercises for the cure of defects and diseases, for the development of the body, and for the choice of the kind of employment. All agree that such measurements, even if without instruments of precision, have great value in reformatories for youth and undeveloped young men. The records are coming to have

some scientific value also for the criminologist. It would not be difficult to extend these measurements and make them still more accurate and complete; and the plan we shall propose will include all that is valuable in the present physical tests.

With or without such measurements the superintendents and wardens make shrewd observations on the physical and mental strength, characteristics, and tendencies of prisoners. In some cases these impressions and judgments are systematically recorded and become the basis for valuable statistics. The direct observations of physicians and other officers are supplemented by police and court records, and by information secured through correspondence. Have we not here a fair beginning of a kind of study which trained persons might extend and make more useful? Science is common sense armed with the best tools, instruments, and methods. Everyday knowledge, picked up in fragments by hard experience, becomes science by becoming more accurate, thorough, and complete; by tracing out all relations, causes, effects, laws, tendencies. The fact that all our successful wardens and managers have long since worked intelligently in this direction is good evidence that the time is ripe for further improvements.[1]

The studies of children in schools[2] and families shed light on the theme of this investigation.

Some of these studies are conducted by physicians for hygienic reasons; as examination of teeth, eyes, ears, skin, etc. Sometimes these examinations are made by physicians, teachers, and psychologists for pedagogic purposes. They demonstrate the importance of knowing the capacity of the person who is to be taught, disciplined, and influenced.

The officials in charge of the present census are making arrangements for

[1] Mr. Z. R. Brockway, in a recent letter, expresses this judgment: "There is not much knowledge about the criminal except the superficial and incidental knowledge of criminals had by individual legislators, courts, and court officers, who come in casual contact with criminals. The comprehensive study of the criminal class in society is of great importance, and should be initiated and carried on by system under state direction. I am more and more impressed, having personally observed some fifty thousand prisoners, that the prison class is a class of inhabitants different, as a class, from others who do not fall into crime. One who should travel throughout the world visiting prisons of different nations and the prisoners therein would be impressed, if an intelligent observer, with the similarity of general appearance of prison populations. The distinguishing characteristics of criminals which, when observed in mass, give such a positive impression, ought to be inquired into, mapped out, and published for the information of the lawmakers and those who administer law."

[2] See Francis Warner, "The Study of Children and Their School Training." The Macmillan Co., 1899.

certain studies in this direction for statistical uses. The eminent character and knowledge of Dr. F. H. Wines is guarantee for the high value of the methods and results of this investigation, and it deserves all encouragement. But, useful as this temporary effort will be, it cannot take the place of a permanent laboratory established in each institution, and following out life histories year after year with patient study and minute research.

The students of criminal anthropology and criminal sociology in various countries have already studied quite carefully many thousands of convicts.[1]

But in the United States we have the greatest variety of race types, all of them effected by the peculiar conditions of American industry, climate, and political institutions. The data furnished from Europe cannot apply in all respects under the entirely different conditions of our country. We must make our own investigations with our own material.

What is proposed? We recommend a laboratory, furnished with the best modern instruments of precision, conducted by a specialist or trained observer, for the scientific study of prison populations, with special reference to obvious practical needs of the administration in the discipline, instruction, and training of prisoners. These studies would be: Physical: the anatomy and physiology of prisoners; measurements of sensation and other manifestations of mind through the body; and the hereditary factors. Psychical: the mental, emotional, voluntary life-activities; the tastes, ideas, knowledge, motives. Social: the domestic, industrial, neighborhood, legal, political, and religious environment which have influenced the character and conduct. We know that all these factors enter into every life and help to shape it, and that no one of them taken alone is sufficient for an explanation.

Conclusions: This kind of investigation is entirely *practicable*, from whatever point of view we regard it. Competent investigators can be found or trained. The cost is moderate. In many instances the board of managers of institutions can make the appointment by means of funds already under their control for educational work. It is *useful* for discipline; for the direction of aid to discharged prisoners; for the enlightenment of legislatures, courts, and authorities in criminal law and procedure. It promises to make important

[1] Dr. Jules Morel contributed a valuable paper to the National Prison Association in 1896, "Proceedings," pp. 279–281. A schedule of examinations of convicts is there given. G. E. Dawson offers a "Study of Youthful Degeneracy" in the "Reports of the U. S. Commissioners of Education," 1897–1898, Vol. I, p. 1321. The board of education of Chicago has established a bureau for child study, and the reports of this bureau are of great interest in this connection. Miss F. A. Kellor, in the *American Journal of Sociology*, January and March, 1900, gave the results of studies of criminal women. Professor F. Starr gave an account of Dr. Boca's interesting laboratory at Puebla, Mexico, in the *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1897.

contributions to the various sciences of human life : to anatomy, physiology, anthropology, psychology, sociology. The prisons would thus be brought into contact with the great life of universities, and would contribute to the best forms of intellectual wealth. This would not be at the cost of pain, and would assist millions of convicts throughout the world. For the achievements of experimental science, built on real exploration rather than on mere speculation, are the possessions of mankind, and are not confined to a class or a country.

If this recommendation meets with the favor of this influential association, it may be proper to agree upon suitable means for carrying it into effect.

A permanent committee might be formed for the accumulation of information on the subject, reaching the details and specific kinds of desirable data for judgment and action. This information would be at the service of all members of the association.

It would be in order to secure the widest possible publication of such information as would prepare the public mind for advance movements here started.

Our representatives in each state could devise their own methods of securing the introduction of the plan into the institutions with which they are identified.

This report was heartily and unanimously adopted by the association, and was discussed by the wardens in a special session. The same committee was continued for another year to prosecute the inquiry and promote the establishment of laboratories. In response to a request from the wardens, some further materials are herewith added to the brief outline which served as a basis for the discussion.

The formulation of investigations must be left to the experts who will be appointed directors of laboratories in prisons ; but some further illustrations may be presented here in order to make more clear the scope of the purpose of the report. The causes of crime lie in the nature of the offender and in his environment. Methods of reformation and of prevention, to be successful, must be based on knowledge of these causes. The inquiry will be directed to a study of all these elements, physical, psychical, and social.

Examples of physical measurements are such as the following : height, weight, peculiarities of the head, of the palate, teeth, lips, ears, tonsils, face, spinal column. In respect to movements, it is possible to measure speed, lung capacity and action, strength of grip, legs, back, and chest. Physiological defects are discovered and measured, as corrugation of face, incoördination of eyes, twitching, pallor, mouth-breathing. All of these throw light on the physical basis of mental life, the power to work, the requirements of training, diet, and exercise. A detailed study of the senses may be made, as of sight, hearing, touch, muscle sense, smell, taste, pain. Still further indications of abnormal conditions are found in the manifestations of disordered perception,

attention, feeling, will, and mental activity in making associations, comparisons, and in reasoning. Studies of juvenile offenders in Europe and America have already established the fact that they are, on the average, much inferior in height, weight, muscular strength, and vital capacity to the average of children of the industrial classes who are their neighbors.[1] The social influences cannot be so exactly measured, but they are often most important. For juvenile offenders it is not difficult to discover defects in home environment, hygienic conditions, æsthetic and moral influences, companions, work, and play. In most cases the student can discover and record the facts of nationality, education, religion, moral instruction and ideas, parental influences, occupation, temptations, amusements and games, habits, superstitions, conjugal relations. The correspondence and travel necessary to collect data of this class from police, courts, teachers, pastors, employers, and others, can be done only by persons who reside permanently at a prison. The importance of having established laboratories is very clear. Miss F. A. Kellor, having had considerable experience with such studies in prisons north and south, says : —

"In order to secure the data, there should be permanent and suitable laboratories in each institution, with a well-trained person in charge. Temporary laboratories with portable supplies have been used, but are unsatisfactory for the following reasons: (1) Delicate instruments are required which are not easily transported. (2) Satisfactory rooms, free from noise and disturbance, are not always obtainable for temporary use. (3) A stranger coming into an institution frightens, confuses, and misleads the inmates, who are not then in a normal state. A permanent laboratory would be an adjunct of the institution, and would be accepted as a matter of course. The psychologist should be a resident in the institution, and be familiar with the prison population. (4) The transient psychologist secures his subjects through request. It should be a natural part of institution régime, as natural a requirement as a bath or a change of clothes upon arrival. Suspicion and superstition are thus averted. (5) Sometimes tests need to be repeated under different conditions, and this requires longer residence."

Naturally and properly the administrative officers of prisons will ask where competent directors of such institutions can be found. It is vital to the permanent success of this movement that the first appointees be in all respects suitable. The technical qualifications are a training in laboratories of anthro-

[1] Dr. Christopher, of the Chicago board of education, deserves great credit for promoting studies of children in the schools. One of the officers, Mr. Victor Campbell, has kindly shown me some results of this investigation of 282 juvenile delinquents in the John Worthy School. The results of recent measurements agree with those obtained by other observers.

pology and of physiological psychology, and a certain additional experience in studies of normal and defective persons in a wider range. The director must be able to formulate and apply schedules of questions which will bring out the social forces which tend toward crime. From the standpoint of the sociologist, this is the most interesting part of the investigation. Having submitted this conservative suggestion to an eminent authority[1] in physiology, the writer is distinctly authorized by him to make an even stronger statement than, as a student of sociology, he would venture to make in a field where he is a layman. This statement is to the effect that the inherited physiological and psychical traits are of minor, even of insignificant, importance, as causes of crime, save in the rare and exceptional cases of depleting disease or insanity; that defective social conditions, economic, industrial, domestic, and educational, are the supreme maleficent forces; that it is even positively misleading and harmful to dwell much, if at all, on bodily and mental traits, because we thus divert public attention away from social reforms and amelioration which are within human power to control, and which alone are capable of preventing a criminal career.

But even if these physical and psychical records prove to be unimportant in the explanation of causes of crime, their practical value as means of identification, as guides in physical training and making of dietaries, and as helps in the selection of suitable methods of training, would remain.

This protest of a physiologist must, however, serve to make all the more clear and emphatic a belief expressed in the report, that the director of the laboratory must give special attention to a study of the social surroundings and influences which have led to crime. If this be an important, perhaps the only important, subject of investigation, it follows that the director must have training in sociology and economics as well as in physiological psychology. For the tyro in these subjects is no more competent to analyze the complex social forces than the quack is competent to diagnose disease as a necessary preliminary to treatment by medicine, surgery, or regimen. The phenomena of social life are more obvious and accessible than those of physical life, but they are far more vast, entangled, and complicated. It is hardly probable that any one person can be found who will be equally equipped in all three fields of research, and the results of various directors will necessarily have unequal value.

The prison physician in some cases might be able to spend six months in a university laboratory and be able, with his previous knowledge of anatomy and physiology, to use the instruments and interpret the results. Advanced

[1] These points are illustrated and confirmed in a work of Professor Jacques Loeb, "Comparative Physiology of the Brain and Comparative Psychology."

students who have been thoroughly trained by modern methods in psychology would find a new and enticing field in an institution whose inmates are under the control of the authorities and become communicative if they are approached in a sympathetic and tactful way. The number of competent observers would be small at first, but the hope of employment and the opportunity of discovery would soon attract a supply of psychologists.[1]

[1] Dr. A. McDonald has furnished a full description, with ample illustrations, of the most important psycho-physical and anthropometrical instruments of precision, and has printed a list of reliable makers, in the "Report of the United States Commissioner of Education," 1897–1898, Vol. I, pp. 1141–1204. He has also illustrated their use in the study of children in the same connection. Compare his earlier studies, "Education and Patho-social Studies," in the "Report of the Commissioner of Education," 1889–1890 and 1893–1894.

CHAPTER II.

CAUSES OF CRIME.

At this point we may review, with new forms of expression, the historical forces which have resulted in the formation of a criminal group of the population in all modern countries, keeping in mind the distinctions noted in the next preceding chapter. But we must also study, with care, those particular forces which differentiate criminals from dependents and defectives, even when they are closely connected.

In apparently the same physical and social environments the great majority of persons, rich and poor, educated and illiterate, escape the imputation of crime, even the reputation or suspicion of criminal taint. From this range of facts one might be induced to conclude that the sole cause of crime lies in the personal defect of the person arrested and convicted.

But wide observation, sound reasoning, and practical justice require us to face another aspect of the situation. With apparently the same normal physical and psychical constitution and moral disposition, some men become criminals, and others, just as infirm of purpose, remain honest. And from exclusive consideration of this fact we might infer that outward circumstances were the potent factors.

From this contrast it is evident that we have here to deal with very complex elements, and that hasty generalizations are apt to be wrong, and lead to unfair judgments of individuals and to unwise practical measures. We are by no means near the time when any man can fix, with mathematical accuracy, the exact weight and force of each causal factor which pushes or pulls toward antisocial actions. Science, law, and philanthropy must perform

their social ministry by discovery of the actually efficient forces, proceed to employ all suitable methods of approximate measurement, and suit remedies to ailments as wisely as possible. It is thus that medical science and art have gradually advanced by experiment, error, and theory to a great measure of success. Social therapeutics cannot leap over any stage of this rough and thorny way to truth. But every year adds to the materials of knowledge and reveals improvements in instruments and methods of investigation. When our prisons become the laboratories of humane science, and specialist experts in psychology, physiology, and anthropology are added to teachers, chaplains, physicians, and directors of occupation, we shall still more rapidly accumulate information which will be valuable for guidance.

The causes of crime are factors of personality and of environment, and of the reaction of personality upon environment in the formation of habits and new nature. Personal nature is, at a given moment, the product of inherited tendencies, of acquired habits and character, and of the response to external circumstances. In this chapter we shall analyze the influential elements which appear to belong to the physical environment, to social institutions and customs, and to the actual process of conduct in the individual man.

1. **The External World.** — Scientific observation supports experience and common sense in tracing the influence of climate, seasons, temperature, food, and other physical forces in human conduct. The exaggerated estimate of these factors should not drive us to the opposite extreme of ignoring material conditions altogether. Few if any persons, even of the highest character, are absolutely free from the depressing or disturbing influences of the outward conditions.

Climate. — Statisticians have sought to formulate certain uniformities in the occurrence of crime in different climatic conditions. One generalization is that crimes against the person, as assault and homicide, are relatively more numerous in warm climates, while crimes against property are more frequent in colder

regions. But we are warned to remember that social conditions, and especially economic arrangements, may be quite as important as climate in these countries. Marshall suggests: "In warm climates we find early marriages and a high birth rate, and in consequence a low respect for human life." Mischler thinks that the apparent excess of crimes against the person in the south of Europe may be due to the uncultivated condition of the country, and to the mountain ranges which harbor lawless men. With better organization of police, courts, schools, earnest churches, press, libraries, the conduct may be radically different, while climate and soil will remain the same.

Crimes against the person are unduly high in the South and West in the United States; but here we have to consider not merely climate, but also race conflicts, pioneer conditions, and uncertain legal control. Such phenomena have frequently disappeared after the frontier population has had time to erect courts and constabulary, and to build up the agencies of moral regulation by public sentiment.

Seasons. — It is claimed that crimes against the person are relatively more numerous in summer than in winter, and that crimes against property are more numerous in winter than in summer. This is an observed coincidence, but the causal connection is not certain. Perhaps in winter the pressure of want drives men to theft, while summer heat increases irritability of temper, and open air life multiplies opportunities and occasions of friction and collision.

Meteorological Changes. — Electric conditions and barometric pressure, humidity and heat, have their influence on all men, and the criminal temperament seems to be peculiarly sensitive to such changes.

Diurnal changes, as from darkness to light, furnish the basis for habits and customs. The night is favorable to theft, burglary, drunken disorders, and the orgies of brothels. Frauds in business are naturally consummated in daylight. Steel safes and time locks modify natural factors in relation to bank robberies.

Some writers have traced the fragmentary evidence in respect to mountain ranges and plains, malaria, centres of goitre, and cretinism, the race characters of hunting and of settled barbarous peoples. Up to this time the results are uncertain.

2. Social Conditions. — Studies of the *conjugal relations* of prisoners show that there is a higher ratio of criminality among the unmarried and divorced than among the married. The explanation of this fact may lie partly in the greater temptations of the homeless, since men who have given hostages to fortune and have a stake in the country are steadied by responsibility. Another aspect of the explanation is that the same temper and habits which render a man unfit for marriage and disinclined to its restraints, may be exactly the same antisocial tendencies which manifest themselves in crime.

Social position affects conduct. Crime is more frequent among the lower classes than among the upper classes. Criminals are recruited from their own kind. But it should be added that rich criminals are more likely to escape detection, arrest, and punishment, and that we must in justice discriminate carefully between the "lower classes" and the great majority of the worthy and honest working people of small income. These latter often belong to the true "upper classes." The real distinction is one of character, not of income. The crimes of merchants are those of cunning and intrigue rather than of force. The immoral and cruel acts of employers which drive men to strike are usually within the technical forms of law, and are not outwardly sensational and tangible, while the beating of a non-union workman is covered by a statute.

Density of population is ordinarily accompanied by proportionate increase of crime. Cities are hotbeds of lawlessness, as compared with rural neighborhoods, although England is apparently an exception to this rule. The city is the refuge and hiding-place of people with a dark record; it offers many occasions of conflict in its thronged streets and competing industries; it sharpens the struggle for existence; it flaunts the allurements of wealth and

luxury in the face of poverty and excites envy; and it harbors the solicitors of vice.

There are many *customs*, even of the charitable, which favor the growth of crime. An Italian was arrested for begging. It was discovered that he had put out the eyes of two children in order to fit them for the trade of exciting pity and collecting alms upon the street from careless and unreflecting people. Almsgiving on the street, without investigation, thus becomes the direct cause of mutilation and cruelty. The custom of carrying concealed weapons intensifies the tendency to homicide; and where the duel code of so-called "honor" is fashionable, it constantly suggests murder and even makes it a mark of distinction. Where the feud or vendetta is customary the value of human life is held cheap. Public sentiment favorable to whipping, torturing, and lynching provokes criminal impulses in the entire population, and therefore it was that severe punishments and public executions did not repress crime, but increased it.

Economic conditions and crime. Poverty alone cannot be regarded as a decisive factor. Poor countries are not especially prolific in crime, and the ratio of evil-doing does not vary according to wealth and want. Among the few rich there seems to be as much wickedness, in proportion to numbers, as among the many poor.

But swift and unexpected industrial and commercial changes, especially hard times, put character to unusual strains and increase the number of lawbreakers. Progress in industrial processes makes it more difficult for men to support existence in their accustomed ways. Poor countries, like Ireland, Spain, and Hungary show a smaller ratio of theft in the population than rich England; but when economic progress and commercial vigor take deep hold of these backward countries, attacks upon property will probably increase.

Food and Famine.—The connection between scarcity and crime has not yet been made out with accuracy. In particular periods of extreme want, the social bond is sometimes relaxed and the

elementary forces of hunger take their own course; but, on the other hand, spectacular suffering enlists sympathy and social help on a large scale, and the better traits of humanity come to expression and mitigate the suffering and despair.

Beliefs. — It is not extreme want alone, acting on the body, which urges men to desperate steps, but psychical influences must coöperate. It is a belief about the injustice of social conditions which awakens rebellion and revolt.

Take, for example, the belief that "property is robbery," and even when wages rise there will be a generally diffused irritation in presence of large fortunes gained by speculation. In addition to the envy of success which all men feel to some extent, and which of itself embitters the soul, there is a very general conviction, honestly held by multitudes of persons, not only of wage-workers, but professional men, that many of those who are very rich have obtained their wealth at the cost of the community and without returning an equivalent. This belief is widely diffused and in some social circles is practically universal. "No man can honestly amass a million dollars in a few years," is a saying commonly believed. Imagine the situation of a poor man pinched by hunger, with an opportunity of taking a small part of the immorally acquired wealth to meet his pressing wants; and this social belief, often fostered by politicians more or less sincere, provides the justification of a crime. Under ordinary circumstances the risk of theft will not be taken, but in special trials the sense of wrong supports the physical craving in the unlawful act.

Take another belief, that the members of a trade have an exclusive right to earn wages in that trade, especially if they belong to a union. This belief justifies riots and the beating or killing of non-union men who take the places of strikers. It is not extreme want, but a form of the sense of duty, which impels to such acts.

These two beliefs act together, since the union men believe that in the struggle with their enemies, their employers, a man who takes sides against them is a traitor to his class and cause, a feeling akin to patriotism.

The belief itself may be unreasonable and based on ignorance, but it is a very real social force and moves men at times toward violation of law. Its roots must be studied, and what is just in it must be considered if we are to counteract it. The use of police force will not go far unless the belief itself is rationally treated.

Industrial Education. — In close connection with poverty as a crime cause must be considered the effects of lack of industrial skill and habits. According to the census of 1890 of 52,894 convicts, 31,426 were ignorant of any kind of trade, and of the latter 23,144 were native-born Americans. Efficiency in production is the basis of the wage rate, and absence of skill and habits of labor diminish efficiency and open the path to ruin. When we come to consider education in relation to our subject this fact must be borne in mind.

The influence of *religious denominations* has been studied, but without decisive results. The view of some criminologists, that criminals are very religious, seems to have little support in American experience. Much depends on the kind of discipline and the standards of membership in the various denominations. Where the theory is that members must maintain at least a respectable standard of morality or be excluded from membership, there are few criminals; while under the theory that mother church must cherish even her bad children to the last, and carry the burden of their disgrace, especially if emphasis is placed rather on ritual and obedience than on social morality, we may expect different statistics. It is very rare that a habitual or professional criminal is a member of a church in good standing at the time of his arrest.

Political Factors. — The corruption of partisan politics, the entire spoils system, favors the increase of crime. The successful politician is the demigod of the immature youth of a city ward, and his example is more powerful than that of Washington or Lincoln, because these respectable gentlemen are not so well known, and have no places to fill. Bribery in all its forms stimulates cupidity and dulls conscience. The saloon-keeper is an authority

and guide in the evil ways of politics. Under a vicious system of appointments to office the police, who should suppress vice, sometimes derive private revenue from gambling-dens and brothels as the price of immunity from interruption of their wicked trades. When the unscrupulous agents of city railways, railroads, and other great corporations purchase the nominations and control the elections of aldermen in their own interest and against the public, crime is fostered through the very institutions of justice and law, and by those whose intelligence and strength makes them most responsible and guilty.

The Influence of Association and Suggestion. — It is known that many of those who are likely to commit crime are peculiarly susceptible to suggestion, and that they incline to egoism and vanity. If a large group of such persons are isolated from the higher social influences, and brought under the sway of vigorous and unscrupulous men, they yield to such leadership. "Gangs" of boys in cities are frequently led into enterprises of hazard and theft by bold and dishonest men. If these crowds of ill-trained youth are further subjected, as in cities they often are, to the suggestions of vice and crime found in the cheap and popular "yellow" newspapers, and in the sensational accounts of burglaries and trials reported even by reputable journals and in the police gazettes which are handed about livery stables and barber shops and saloons, a current of forces is set up which drifts strongly toward evil and bears multitudes on its tides. The gaping crowd of idle spectators of criminal court rooms, waiting hungrily for some salacious morsel or sensational story of infamous cunning, saturates itself with criminal suggestions. The disclosures of public divorce trials are degrading. The details are greedily devoured, and act as fuel to the flame of lawless forces. The incidents of murder trials make the murderer a hero and centre of admiration. Pictures and reports of brutal prize fights set boys to fighting in alleys and back yards and on school grounds all over the country. The desire for notoriety stimulates the youth to imitate these heroes of the day.

Lynching as a Cause of Crime. — Both in the South and the North resort is had occasionally, and only too frequently, to punish certain wrongs by torture and death, without process of law. Miss Jane Addams[1] has made a few strong and wise statements whose very form is worth frequent reproduction. After insisting that there are well-established principles which underlie all self-government, the disregard of which endangers self-government itself, she discusses the time-honored false theory that "criminality can be suppressed and terrorized by exhibitions of brutal punishment; that crime can be prevented by cruelty." The tortures of peasants and laborers by the French nobility of the seventeenth century so hardened the people that they rejoiced in the carnage and horrors of the Revolution. The cruel penalties of English law debased the working-men and turned them into fiends. "Brutality begets brutality. Children and untaught men learn less by precept than from imitation. The child who is managed by a system of bullying and terrorizing is almost sure to be a vicious and stupid child. . . . Bloodshed and arson and ungoverned anger have never yet controlled lust." Those who claim to belong to the superior ranks of society set a dangerous example of disregard of law in their lynching parties, and from sowing the wind are likely to reap the whirlwind. Psychologically and historically these lawless, irregular, and cruel methods can be proved to be causes of the increase of crime. Society can protect itself much more effectively by fair legal trials and by permanent segregation and confinement of those who commit base crimes.

Foreign Immigration. — Immigration is not, of course, an original cause of criminal character, but the incoming of many persons of dangerous and depraved habits increases the difficulty in many ways. It seems to be a rather common belief that the principal source of crime in this country is the importation of unfit natives of Europe, and especially in recent years. Many apparently think that if this supply could be cut off we should have few criminals. This belief ignores the causes of crime which are at work every-

[1] *The Independent*, January 3, 1901, p. 18.

where, and it should be subjected to careful criticism before it is accepted.

The facts relied upon for the belief that immigration is the principal source of criminality are usually drawn from the census of the United States. On the face of the returns of information about convicts in prisons it would appear that the number of native white convicts rose from 207 in the million of population in 1850, to 1233 in 1890; while the foreign convicts at the same dates were 1074 and 1788 in the million of population. In 1890, the foreign white population, including foreign born and children of foreign born, were 32.93 per cent of the population, while 56.81 per cent of the prisoners were foreign; one half of these were not naturalized, and one fifth were unable to speak the English language. Native born persons were 54.87 per cent of population, and furnished only 43.19 per cent of the prisoners.

On the strength of these figures many have concluded that we owe our criminality chiefly to the immigration of foreigners of a low type. That criminals do come to America, and that many ex-convicts have actually been shipped to us by "philanthropic" societies of Europe, there can be no doubt; but the evil is not so great as statistics carelessly interpreted might seem to prove. It should be remembered that the immigrants are in a high ratio males of the ages at which most crime is committed. It is unfair to compare the rate of crime of the native population, composed of men and women in nearly equal numbers, and of aged people and young children incapable of committing crime, with the body of young immigrants. A careful analysis of the data proves that there is actually a higher rate of serious crime among the native born than among the foreign born, when we take into account those of the crime age, that is, males from seventeen to forty-five years of age.

While we have grave reasons for making and enforcing the most stringent regulations of immigration, so as to resist the importation of defective and criminal persons, yet we must not imagine that the social causes of crime are exotic, and that we may neglect our own conduct and lay all the blame upon the foreigners.

The Negro Factor. — There can be no doubt that one of the most serious factors in crime statistics is found in the conditions of the freedmen of African descent, both North and South. The causes are complex. The primary factor is racial inheritance, physical and mental inferiority, barbarian and slave ancestry and culture, "two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil" (Lincoln), sudden and unprepared change of economic and political status. Before the Civil War and emancipation, all negroes in the South were under the severe domestic discipline of the masters; and then, suddenly, without training and education, full command of time, income, and even of political power during the unfortunate reconstruction period fell upon them. In Northern cities it is even worse than in the South, because it is more difficult for negroes to secure regular employment in the trades. The exclusion policy of trade unions increases their difficulty; the isolation of race prejudice cuts them off from the refining influence of the more advanced races. While these causes remain, unbalanced by educational helps and competent leadership, an increase of crime must be expected.

3. The Physical and Psychical Nature of the Individual. — With the instinctive criminals, relatively few in number, the inherited nature is quite important as a casual factor; while in the formation of the character of the habitual and professional criminals the educational influences seem to be more important and decisive. The data here presented apply generally to all convicts, both real criminals and casual offenders. There remains the vast task of studying the varying influences of the several personal factors in offenders of different classes.

Sex. — There are about five times as many male as female convicts. Among all civilized peoples women are less addicted to crime than men, and girls less than boys. It is sometimes said that if we added the numbers of the prostitute women who are not in prison we should find less difference; but in reply it might fairly be said that for every prostitute there are several men quite as vicious as they. Even if we add the women who act as

"fences" and aid and abet criminals, we should not greatly change the relative figures. The fact is that men are by temperament more aggressive than women.

Sex affects the kinds of crime. Women are less inclined to acts of violence on account of their weakness and self-sacrificing disposition, the products of function and habits. Their crimes are generally connected with the maternal functions, as abortion, infanticide.

Women once fallen are harder to restore to upright living. All ways are closed to them, and reckless despair holds them in chains.

As women go into business and public employment the danger of crime increases. The strife and competition and friction of competitive affairs multiply the temptations and difficulties.

Age. — Crimes against person and property require a certain development of intelligence and physical strength. Theft begins with young children who are frequently tempted by hunger, or who are compelled by their parents to go upon the streets to beg and pilfer. When the fires of passion are kindled in middle adolescence, lust combines with sheer love of fighting to inspire assaults on the person and disturbances of public peace. The inmates of reformatories and prisons are comparatively young, and the ages fall between twenty-one and forty years. The older men become cautious with experience, leaders and capitalists and fences, or grow feeble from debauch and take asylum in the poorhouse, while many die prematurely. The criminals belong, on the average, to the lower vitality class with whom longevity is relatively rare.

Up to twenty the ratio of feminine crime is notable, and again in old age. Among the younger groups theft, rape, and crimes of violence are frequent, and infanticide with women. With riper years come crimes of cold calculation, frauds, bankruptcy, and arson.

Education. — Statistics guide us only a little way in judging of the influence of ordinary instruction in the elements of knowledge. Illiterates are naturally from the physically and morally defective

classes which furnish more than their due ratio to the criminal group. But in a country where nearly all can read, crime is prevalent and the offenders share in universal education, while the prisoners from a district where elementary schools are less developed are more frequently unable to read and write. One can hardly doubt that the training of the schoolroom, the knowledge and discipline gained, the habits of obedience and punctuality and industry formed, and the superior personal and social influences must have a good tendency; but it is difficult to prove this by statistics.

"As the school causes its pupils to put on the forms of thought given them by the teacher and by the books they use, — causes them to control their personal impulses, and to act according to rules and regulations, — causes them to behave so as to combine with others and get help from all while they in turn give help; as the school causes the pupil to put off his selfish promptings, and to prefer the forms of action based on the consideration of the interests of others, — it is seen that the entire discipline of the school is ethical. Each youth educated in the school has been submitted to a training in the habit of self-control and of obedience to social order. He has become, to some extent, conscious of two selves: the one his immediate animal impulse, and the second his moral sense of conformity to the order necessary for the harmonious action of all.

"The statistics of crime confirm the anticipations of the public in regard to the good efforts of education. The jails of the country show pretty generally the ratio of eight to one as the quotas of delinquents furnished from a given number of illiterates as compared with an equal number of them who can read and write" (Dr. W. T. Harris in "Education in the United States," I, 115–116).

When it is said that those states which have the completest systems of education have the most criminals in their jails and prisons, Dr. Harris replies: "This is true, but its significance is not read aright until one sees by an analysis of the causes of arrest that it is not a real increase of crime, but an increase of zeal on

the part of the community to abolish the seeds of crime, to repress the vices that lead to crime. In Massachusetts, for example, there were, in 1850, 3,351 arrests for drunkenness, while in 1885 the number had increased to 18,701. But meanwhile the crimes against person and property had decreased from 1860 to 1885 forty-five per cent, making allowance for increase of population. Life and property had become more safe, but drunkenness had become less safe."

It is almost certain, on the other hand, that the custom of confining growing boys to the mere conning of book lessons frequently irritates and maddens them, excites disgust for studies which seem to have no relations with their lives and give their muscles nothing to do.

One thing shines out clearly from the records thus far studied: that the lack of instruction in manual and trade processes and of personal, moral, and spiritual influences, must be charged with much of the tendency to crime. The conviction deepens with teachers that the neglect of careful moral teaching and of religious factors accounts for much of the increase of crime.

The social classes of the highest culture furnish few convicts, yet there are educated criminals. Advanced culture modifies the form of crime; tends to make it less coarse and violent, but more cunning; restricts it to quasi-legal forms. But education also opens up the way to new and colossal kinds of crime, as debauching of conventions, councils, legislatures, and bribery of the press and of public officials. The egoistic impulses are masked and disguised in this way, the devil wearing the livery of heavenly charity for a cloak of wrong. Many of the "Napoleons" of trade are well named, for they are cold-blooded robbers and murderers, utterly indifferent to the inevitable misery which they must know will follow their contrivances and deals. Occasionally eminent legal ability is employed to plan raids upon the public in ways which will evade the penalties of the criminal code, and many a representative of financial power grazes the prison walls on his way to "success." Poor men read these facts in the newspapers and

palliate lawlessness in their own circles, especially in times of strikes.

Occupation. — The occupation may have a direct tendency to form vicious character, as the service of saloons, gambling-dens, and dishonest kinds of business. But usually the occupation acts indirectly by drawing to itself persons of the age, sex, and skill most exposed to temptation and most liable to yield. An industry which collects rude, untrained young men into its ranks will show a relatively high average of crime, quite apart from the nature of the work and surroundings.

Officials are specially tempted to abuses of trusts and bribery. In the liberal professions it is said that teachers tend to commit crimes of impurity. Landlords and farmers are provoked to acts of violence. Merchants and manufacturers are drawn into fraud, embezzlement, and forgery. Laborers commit theft, disturb public order, make assaults; and those who are irregularly employed are given to orgies and disorder. Among female servants infanticide is common. Among women of higher position abortion is frequent. Agriculture furnishes few criminals compared with manufacturing industries, and this goes along with rural as contrasted with urban conditions of life.

Alcoholism. — While statistical authorities differ widely as to the exact percentage of crime caused by intemperance, they all agree that it is everywhere a serious cause. The physiologists have made numerous investigations which prove beyond question that alcohol disturbs the normal action of the brain, weakens the will and the inhibitory power of the higher nerve centres, confuses the intellect, dulls the conscience, and sets free anger and lust without a rein or bridle. Thirst for liquor leads men to the companionship of the saloon, where the tone and topics of conversation are frequently suggestive of antisocial conduct; where gamblers, thieves, and prostitutes assemble; where nefarious plots are laid, and where corrupt politicians ply venal voters with bribes for their suffrage.

The tendency to use alcohol and narcotic poisons is itself a consequence of defective physical conditions. Crime, pauperism, and

drunkenness are coördinate results of family decay. This decay itself is the effect of defective nutrition, vicious indulgence, excessive and prolonged excitement of business or study, emaciation and languor, and depression of spirits. There is a high degree of complexity and many reactions of causes in this deplorable circle of evils, all tending to ruin.

Hereditary and Individual Degeneration. — The ultimate product of all the depressing forces we have been considering is a feeble or distorted nature, and this defective nature, in turn, is readily bent toward antisocial conduct. Men "die first at the top," as Dean Swift said. Combinations of unfortunate ancestral and parental tendencies produce a weak, disturbed, irritable, ill-balanced constitution. On this imperfect personality, unfortified by suitable education, cosmic and social forces play, and degeneration itself is the effect of earlier cosmic and social forces wrongly directed. The physical deformities are both morphological and functional, and they induce psychical abnormalities.

"The dissolution of powers acquired and transmitted by heredity, the loss of integrity of the heritage of ancestral adaptations and of race qualities, are not the only marks of degeneration. The degenerates have also lost the power of accommodating their organism to the environment, and to acquire individual qualities. But inheritance and adaptibility are the two conditions of evolution — that is to say, of existence. Individuals who have lost their hereditary powers, and who are incapable of acquiring new ones, are necessarily conquered in the struggle for life, since survival belongs to the adapted" (Féré).

It is easy to prove that only a part — perhaps a small minority — of the total prison population are seriously defective. Of most offenders we may say with confidence that they are not "victims" of heredity. It may also safely be said that many of those offenders who are evidently incapable should be in custodial institutions for life, and not in prisons. But the fact remains that the enfeebled and disturbed nature called "degenerate" is peculiarly pliable before temptations and stress. Persons of this nature are often educated

in vicious homes and surroundings; they are apt to develop a craving for stimulants and narcotics which further weaken the will and rouse the beast within, only to hasten self-destruction after much mischief has been done. Practically, therefore, we must consider inherited and acquired physical and psychical defects in our measures of discipline and prevention.

4. Relative Importance of the Various Causal Factors. — The physical causes, as climate, seasons, age, sex, are least important, most rhythmical and regular, and most difficult to regulate by human action.

The classes in whom the hereditary and insane impulses are decisive are the smallest and the most regular in number.

The social causes, as deep poverty, work of children in factories, crowding of cities, bad prison systems, are most influential with casual offenders. They vary and fluctuate very much, and are accessible to the modifying power of human agency. Even with instinctive criminals social causes are operative in a lower degree.

We may, therefore, conclude that the most important causes of crime are also those which are most subject to social direction and control. This conclusion is the foundation of hopeful effort.

5. The Psychical Process of forming a Criminal Character. — Manifestly we do not have, as a rule, sudden breaks; no leaps across wide chasms. We may observe the gradual descent to the criminal state in the individual and in a family. If we follow the spiritual history of the individual, we have to do primarily with acquired characteristics; if we observe a family through generations, we deal with hereditary influences, acquired habits, and depraved environment and education.

Individual Degradation. — Starting with a normal young person, we may sometimes observe the evolution of a criminal. The normal person has all the intellectual powers and the nervous physical basis for true mental action; all the appetites, desires, and capacities for emotion; and the power, in some degree, of self-determination, or directing his own thought and selecting his

own objects. Even upright youth have experiences of temptation which flash lightning-like revelations upon the motives of the social offender. Desires and appetites are going forth instinctively, and in response to objects, in every direction. Man is not, as is sometimes said, a social being, if by that is meant that every one does instinctively and with pleasure what the common good requires. Every child of the most cultivated parents requires to be taught what his duties are, for he will not know them by instinct; and needs to be trained, controlled, disciplined, and helped into the ways of social coöperation. The training of the race for coöperation has been long, difficult, and costly. We dare not count on the inheritance of acquired virtues. Science, music, literature and good morals are taught to each human being, and only thus are transmitted. How generally we see adolescents, especially boys, acting an intensely selfish part, eagerly seizing and enjoying whatever object they momentarily desire. The children of refined, unselfish, generous, humane, self-sacrificing parents are often in this temper. Is it not the rule? Shakespeare noticed it and wondered why boys could not sleep through the storm and stress period. That is impossible, and in that boisterous passage is found the promise of all that is best. Boys must learn self-control, and acquire for themselves a social disposition, even the noblest of them. They have the appetites of savages, and are as improvident and short-sighted in respect to consequences; judgment is limited in range; a large and inclusive sympathy hardly exists; there is little economy of energy under excitement, and feeble power of sustained effort; they go straight at objects, as game-fish dart at the glittering spoon.

Crime lurks crouching at the door of most vigorous youths. Sneaking, lying, mean vice are characteristic of weak children who have been whipped and cowed into slavish fear. Both kinds of adolescents need careful, firm, steady discipline, until they can stand alone in maturity, with the momentum of good habits to help them.

Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt, in his address to the Young Men's Christian Association, said: "The truth is that each one of us has in him certain passions and instincts which, if they gain the upper hand in his soul, would mean that the wild beast had come uppermost in him."

Not domination and repression, but regulated physical and mental activity for every hour in the day, is requisite. The parents should know where the boy is every minute of his waking existence. He is not safe on other terms. He must be busy till he is sleepy, and he must wake up and get up at a regular minute, or he is in danger. Sentimentalism, blind optimism, foolish parental partiality and idolatry let the boy go his way of impulse; and some day society is shocked to hear of some base deed which clouds all subsequent life.

We find vice in the satisfaction of natural appetites and desires in undue measure, at the wrong time and place, at the cost of other persons, or in any way which brings hurt to health or moral order. If the satisfaction is attained in a way forbidden by the code, the vice becomes a crime. Vice and crime are both antisocial acts out of an antisocial disposition. The materials for hell fire, in the moral sense, are in every human being; they are exactly the elementary pushing forces which create happy families, industry, wealth, enterprise, heroic courage. Vicious and criminal dispositions are simply perversions or exaggerations of natural impulses. The vicious and the criminal man has no added faculty or appetency. Crime is not a physically transmitted or infective microbe; it is like an art or trade which is learned by imitation and practice.

Why does a young man steal and become a thief? Because he wants a watch, or a ring, or something to eat, or a gift to please some woman, — good or bad. Other men also desire property, and take measures to secure it. Steinthal ("Ethik," p. 373) tells of a thief in Munich who had stolen a hen out of the cellar of a butcher. The judge asked him in court on trial what he was thinking when he committed the deed. He replied, "I simply thought, — there is something to eat." The wrong, even the con-

sequences to his family and himself, he had not considered. Even among normal men the desire is often excessive and perverted; and questionable, selfish means are used.

Why does a man break the law by an assault? Why does a man attack another with weapons or kill him with poison? In order to "get even," as is done artfully and shrewdly in business. Anger, malice, grudge, envy, lust, revenge, are not utterly unknown even among the elect. Go a step too far and the man is in the grip of policemen, courts, prisons.

Acts repeated form habits. Taste is perverted. One seeks his honor and praise from associates, whoever they may be. The admiration of the wicked is sweet when no better persons are witnesses. The issue may be disease, insanity, or crime career.

What has been said applies to the evolution of criminal character in young persons fairly well endowed. But in the person whose development of body and mind is arrested, the power to consider, reflect, and weigh is diminished. The elementary appetites shared with animals have full sway. We have the development of an instinctive criminal by an abridged process.

The best place to begin the study of the psychology and etiology of crime is with children and youth. They are at least less skilful in concealment of their motives, and the play of forces is not so complex and obscure as in later years.

The theories of child nature, especially of boy nature, are various and conflicting. According to sentimental poets, optimistic philosophers, and indulgent parents, the boy is a cherub, especially when he wears a white surplice in a choir, and sings carols at Christmas. According to more severe observers, with a theory to support, the boy is a savage on his way upward to civilization, and under the necessity of spending a certain period in atavistic fellowship with his forbears, who drank out of the skulls of their foes. At the Apache stage of culture they fish for poultry with hook and line, torture cats, freeze snowballs for a battle, "haze" fellow students, paint statues, and deal with persons and property without regard to the ideas of civilized peoples.

Probably there are different kinds of boys, with varied histories of heredity and culture, and this fact accounts for the contradiction in theories. But even with the gentlest and kindest of children there is not that knowledge and foresight of remote consequences which come only with age, experience, and instruction; nor can there be the power of inhibition and self-control which correspond to the habit of self-discipline in all kinds of situations.

Ferriani, in his important study of juvenile delinquents, has brought together a vast number of evidences and illustrations of the essential traits of depraved children and youth. He insists that there are very general tendencies to crime in all children, and that those who are precocious in wrong conduct are characterized by want of moral sense, absence of modesty, egoism, vanity, cruelty, deception, jealousy and envy, gluttony, anger, hate, laziness, vagrancy, licentious and depraved habits, alcoholism, and mental defects.

A careful analysis of these vicious traits shows that they all may be regarded as the manifestations of natural appetites, desires, and instincts, whose normal exercise is essential to well being, and which become evil only because they are in excess or defective, or are misplaced in time, place, and relation. To say that these young offenders have the "germs" of future crime in them is misleading. The physical craving for food, the appetite called hunger, is a normal factor in our nature; its proper function is the preservation of individual life, and the pleasure which accompanies its satisfaction insures the performance of the function. When this appetite is the only interest of a narrow life, and parental control and direction are lacking, we have a glutton.

There are certain diffused cravings for rest, ease, and comfort whose purpose is the recuperation of the body after effort, and such cravings are necessary to health. But when there is no incentive to activity, or irregular discipline, or where labor has been so premature and painful as to excite disgust with work, we have the phenomenon of the lazy, vagrant child, the truant from school tasks, the foolish girl who begs and then becomes a prostitute to avoid toil.

On the other hand, the craving for exaltation or excitement is a normal element in a healthy person, but in excess it becomes the basis for the abnormal appetite for alcohol, for orgies and debauch, for gambling and cruelty. It seems probable that there is a hereditary blood-thirst even in civilized persons, as we see evidenced in upright and reputable men who enjoy bloody sports — prize fights (*alias* "boxing matches"), cock-fights, and sheer joy in war, sometimes masquerading as "patriotism." Is it any wonder that a street gamin will imitate lords and ladies of high degree? It is not difficult to understand the cruelty of crime in the "lower classes," if we once overcome class partiality far enough to confess the real impulses of certain rather fashionable practices among "gentlemen." General Grant declared that "hazing" is the "resort of a coward and the amusement of a bully." What is "hazing"? Some examples will illustrate the methods by which college boys from the best families, not without some support from tradition and from high authority, entertain themselves. A novitiate is compelled by his seniors to walk along a public street with his trousers rolled up to his knees and his bare legs blackened with burnt cork. One man was compelled to jump blindfolded into a canal, and was drowned. A distinguished officer, while a student, had his arms covered with straw while he was asleep, and this straw was set on fire and he was awaked by the pain. One young fellow was made sick with tobacco juice which his comrades made him swallow. Many have had ribs broken, teeth knocked out, and have sustained severe and even mortal injuries. The fact that suppression of the custom is slow, difficult, and uncertain gives us insight into the mental forces which produce cruelty and the disregard of personal rights. There is really little to choose between complacent and enthusiastic admiration of some fashionable boxing matches and the sandbagging by a footpad. Indifference to pain is demoralizing enough, but when the sight of bruises and blood gives actual joy a crowd is not far from the primitive savage state.

At puberty the natural appetite of sex awakes to its office. Can any student of normal human nature wonder if boys and girls who

have been accustomed to familiarity with merely animal conduct of parents and companions, who have never been trained to modesty, and who are corrupted by all they see from infancy, should yield to the powerful impulse of the race? There is no mystery in the origin of licentiousness, secret vice, and prostitution when we know the early surroundings of many juvenile offenders.

Deep in us all, and the foundation of all worthy ambition, is the elementary desire to be respected, honored, esteemed. The appreciation of onlookers keeps alive the "infirmity of noble minds," and even the saint looks forward with yearning and hope to the plaudit "well done." This same desire, in excess, or ignorantly directed, becomes vanity, or ambition to gain distinction among desperadoes.

Resentment and the sense of justice have a part to play in holding men to duty. In its perversion these same instinctive reactions against those who hurt and threaten us, or balk our satisfactions, become hate and revenge.

What Ferriani calls "egoism" is not any one particular vice, but simply the natural impulse of self-assertion and self-gratification unbalanced by cultivated affections, sympathies, and social justice.

Deceit, lying in all its forms, is the means by which the selfish hopes to remove obstacles in the way of his satisfactions, or ward off pains and punishments, or secure the means of pleasure.

From these elementary, undisciplined, and perverted passions come assaults on women and girls, poisoning or stabbing of rivals, theft, robbery, fraud.

Conditions. — If we look at those youths who find their way to industrial and reform schools in consequence of committing violations of the criminal code, we may learn from measurements and other tests that they are, on the average, physically and mentally inferior to other children. In weight, stature, vital force, muscular energy, intellectual ability, and moral development they fall below the average of children of the same neighborhood and industrial group.

If we go into their homes, we discover that, on the average, their

surroundings have been defective, physically and morally. The parents seem to be feeble, lack self-control and power to restrain and direct their children. Hereditary weakness is further shown in the average early death of parents, and thus the children are thrown upon the world, inferior in strength and without direction.

If we extend our investigations to their neighborhood, we find that it has, on the average, exerted an unwholesome influence. The slums of cities breed juvenile offenders.

Inquiring into their educational opportunities, we find that, in the main, they are without physical and technical training. They have no industrial habits, have not been accustomed to steady labor, and hence are unfit for competing with the strong and disciplined.

Illegitimate children are at a special disadvantage, since they are not only exposed to all the unfavorable conditions attending birth, but lack parental care and affection.

Orphans are frequent in a population of reform schools, and their waywardness may often be traced to early neglect and poverty, with consequent temptations to theft or prostitution.

Statistics indicate that the foster-care of step-mothers is deficient in affection, tact, and patience, and that demoralization and vagrancy follow the loss of the real mother. Deserted children and the offspring of habitual criminals have imperfect chance in life and tend to drift into the ways of vice.

Economic conditions are unfavorable with this class. The parents are ill fed, and the children are deprived of proper nourishment, clothing, and shelter. The waifs, newsvenders, bootblacks, telegraph messengers and others engaged in irregular employments, with the street for their school, naturally furnish a heavy contingent to the army of juvenile offenders. They grow up without education and without trades, until they are too old to learn, and then they are cast adrift.

Turn now to the second generation of the family. The diseased, the vicious, the criminal have children, and the parents influence the fortunes of their offspring in two ways: by heredi-

tary transmission of weakness, bias, disposition; and also by evil example, instruction, and training. The children of a base environment and defective stock have a fatuous attraction for each other, tend to intermarry, and thus accumulate upon the heads of their doomed descendants all their traits and tendencies. Degeneration takes place not only in the individual, but in the family.

6. Hypnotism in Relation to Crime. — One question of some interest in this discussion of causes is: Can a person of normal nature and moral character be induced to perform criminal acts under the suggestive power of an unscrupulous man? The matter is much debated, and as yet we have no results of a decisive character. The courts thus far do not seem to recognize hypnotism as a probable explanation of a criminal act. But the influence of suggestion over susceptible persons, both by good and evil men of strong personality, is too obvious to ignore, and the whole subject merits the deep and general interest which it has awakened among the investigators of psychology.

CHAPTER III.

THE CRIMINAL BEFORE THE LAW.

1. The Relation of Criminal Law to Sociology. — Sociology formulates the conditions of social welfare. Life itself, the nature of the universe, ultimately determines what is good for mankind; but the sociologist surveys the totality of human relations and conditions, and thus determines what is to be declared good, what is to be sought by all available means. The race-preserving instincts and the ethical impulses are the earlier formulations of duty, and sometimes these are wiser than the results of elaborate calculation. But all reflective men seek to consider the sum of forces and relations with reference to the best possible arrangement in a community, at least the conduct which is tolerable and consistent with general order and happiness. All this lies deeper than legislation. The conduct which becomes illegal must first be recognized as evil or hurtful to the people. Social conditions are changing; there are new standards, new evils, new methods of business, which must affect the statute books and decisions of courts. The discovery of the novel factors in life is made by direct study of society, not by study of law books.

Thus sociology rationally formulates standards for defining and judging antisocial conduct. Ordinarily the more thoughtful men of experience do this work of criticism without consideration of any particular science, simply by applying traditional moral maxims to the situation. But there is need of an intermediate stage of reflection; there is need of a science of society which will test even the ethical sentiments themselves by the standard of facts, at the points where those sentiments seem to demand concrete actions, habits, or customs.



Sociology, having made a general survey of the customs and institutions of society, assigns the task of each institution. The reaction of a community against antisocial persons and its system of defence are far wider than the mechanism of penal law. Many of the arrangements and devices of business and industry are made to check egoistic conduct, as books, accounts, auditors, securities, private watchmen, detectives, supervisors, and foremen. In every residence the citizen introduces protective devices, as bolts, bars, locks. There is social censorship, ostracism, repulsion, and a thousand nameless ways of inflicting punishment on disagreeable and selfish or cruel men. There are voluntary associations which act with and even before criminal law, as citizens' leagues, to secure improved legislation, to enforce laws, and bring offenders to justice, to educate public sentiment, to study the phenomena of crime and vice, and apply the teachings of science to institutions of law.

Government naturally assumes the most obvious and conscious functions in relation to crime ; but family, church, school, and many other forms of association must carry part of the burden, and do for the community what the ponderous machinery of government cannot accomplish.

Criminal law is a branch of jurisprudence, and to it must be assigned the duty of working out for each age a detailed and adequate treatment of the social mechanism which is constructed for the purpose of social protection.

In this chapter we shall attempt to sketch, with special reference to the United States, the institutional mechanism for the treatment of antisocial classes, and indicate the bearing of criminal sociology on criminal law. Criminal sociology is constantly discovering the effects of the legal system on the criminal and on the community, and has a right to criticise codes and procedure in the light of these consequences, general and specific. But the task of reshaping the law itself belongs to legislators and courts.

2. The Sources of Criminal Law. — The ultimate human source is the conviction and will of the community — a social belief that

certain kinds of conduct are hurtful to the common interest. The law does not create these beliefs, but expresses them in authoritative form. The social conviction is expressed in customs, court decisions, and in statutes of legislatures and of Congress.

Common Law. — In every department of associated action men form certain habits and customs, and are influenced to conform themselves to the religious and ethical standards of their land and age. It is found convenient and desirable to require all men to order their ordinary affairs according to the methods used by the majority in family, business, travel, communication, taxation, use of streets and sidewalks, conveying goods, making agreements. Each trade and profession gradually forms a set of rules and customs which all are expected to follow, and the actions of men are based on the expectation that these tacit agreements will be sacredly kept. It would be impossible, for example, every time men sold grain or cattle to specify every particular as to quality of commodity and mode of delivery, and therefore such matters are regulated by customs which all understand. Sometimes there is a neglect of the regulation, or refusal to abide by the tacit promise, because there was no specific and written agreement, or there may be a difference of opinion as to the rule itself. In all such cases civilized communities carry their disputes to an authorized court of learned men who will define the custom, settle the debated point, and thus establish a distinct precedent which will thereafter govern all citizens within the jurisdiction of the court. When the court is known to be eminently able, competent, and just, with large experience in the questions of mercantile life, the decisions of that court have almost decisive influence on lower courts, and are quoted in doubtful cases as authority. Such decisions which make rules of conduct form a part of what is called common law, and to these decisions may be added the essays, commentaries, and digests which grow up around them.

Formal Enactments. — The constitution of the nation, the treaties with foreign peoples, and the statutes of the states constitute the more distinct code of statutory law. The constitutions of the

United States and of the several states fix the framework of government in all its branches, determine the functions of each branch, and define the fundamental principles which regulate the methods of legislatures. The legislatures, under the limitations of the constitution, provide for courts, executive and administrative officers, prisons, reformatories, and other institutions of the penal system.

3. Scope and Divisions of Criminal Law. — The student who will follow the details of criminal law must use the text-books which summarize the general features of this branch of law, and, for local use, must study the annotated statutes of his own commonwealth. Attention is called here to a few of the most vital points in this field of social science.

The Distinction between Civil and Criminal Law. — There is no absolute line of demarcation which separates these fields of social regulation, but it is convenient and desirable to make a difference between the regulation of normal conduct and the repressive justice which has chiefly in mind the conduct of persons more or less abnormal.

Criminal Law differs from Civil Law in its Sanctions. — By sanction here is meant the inducement to obedience. "When the injury which would result from the violation of the law is such that it can be redressed by a mere compensation or restitution to the party injured, it is deemed sufficient to compel the aggressor to render this kind of satisfaction. There are other injuries, both to the person and to property, of so atrocious a character that either they do not admit of anything like compensation, or, for other reasons, the welfare of society requires a more efficient sanction in order to prevent them. Such injuries are called crimes, offences, or misdemeanors" (Walker).

They differ in the Initiation of Legal Process. — In civil cases a private person brings suit. In criminal cases the public officer arrests and prosecutes on behalf of the people. The expenses of this prosecution in this country are borne by the state.

A large part of the civil law is devoted to the business of defining rights and obligations among normal citizens, while criminal laws

deal with persons whose acts are purposely vicious and injurious to the community. This is the distinction which is most fundamental — the attitude of the person toward society. Criminal sociology has brought out this distinction with the utmost clearness, and made the difference in treatment rest more on the character of the offender than on the outward form of the deed.

Legal Definition of Crime. — A crime is an overt act, forbidden by law, with a penalty for violation. There must be an open deed, because the law cannot discover the inner motive of men nor look into their hearts, except as inferences may be drawn from the nature and circumstances of the act. This act must be of sufficient importance to affect the interests of society, since it would be impossible for the state to use its machinery in relation to the petty quarrels of private citizens which are too trivial to influence the fortunes of other men. It is injury to the public, actual or threatened, with which the criminal law deals.

Different codes have distinctive names for injurious actions of varying degrees of apparent harm — as crime, misdemeanors, and offences.

Exemptions and Mitigations. — Since crime is considered in law as the act of a responsible person, in normal possession of human faculties, certain exceptions from the rule of punishment are recognized; as infants, insane, feeble-minded, persons committing prohibited acts by accident or mistake, by necessity, or in self-defence. These exceptions rest upon the belief that the court must take cognizance of the nature of the accused, and that the particular deed must be considered in the light of all the facts.

Classification of Crimes in Law. — Almost every text-writer adopts his own scheme of grouping the particular crimes and offences. We may name some of the principal groups, and give illustrations under each head. (*a*) Offences against the government itself. That organ of community which protects all rights and punishes all crimes must first of all protect its own dignity, authority, and agencies. Hence the statutes define treason, the betrayal of the national interest to the enemy; bribery, which

corrupts the agents of government and of justice; extortion and oppression by public officers who misuse the power devoted to public welfare to their own private ends; perjury, which destroys the value of the testimony given in courts; contempt of court, which deprives the magistrate of force and respect; resistance of prison officials, since that is to add crime to crime. (*b*) Offences against public order, as affray, riot, forcible entry and detainer, eavesdropping, libel and slander, engrossing, conspiracy. (*c*) Offences against public health, as nuisance. (*d*) Crimes against religion, morality, and decency, as apostasy, blasphemy, adultery, bigamy, seduction, abduction, kidnapping, abortion, lasciviousness, fornication, sodomy. (*e*) Offences against the person; as assault, mayhem, homicide, false imprisonment, rape, robbery. (*f*) Offences against the dwelling-place, as arson, burglary. (*g*) Offences against property, as larceny, embezzlement, false pretences, cheating, malicious mischief, receiving stolen goods, forgery, counterfeiting. (*h*) Maritime offences, as piracy and barratry.

Each state defines these crimes and affixes a penalty for all, and there is a great variety in these definitions and penalties, as well as in the judicial interpretations of the law, and the fixing of the particular fine or length of imprisonment. These differences awaken a sense of injustice, because it is of the essence of distributive justice that it should be impartial and equal. At a later point we shall consider the extent of this evil and the mode of avoiding it.

The Reason for defining Crimes. — Social security demands that every citizen shall know, as precisely as possible, what conduct is illegal and punishable. Liability to arrest is a very serious matter. It cannot safely be left to executive officers to decide out of their own heads the proper occasion of arrest and restriction of liberty. This definition is an education of conscience. Many members of society need such a standard, low as it is morally, by which they can judge what is right and wrong. Many acts are not in themselves signs of bad character, but are forbidden in order to have

a rule to guide conduct where uncertainty would lead to frequent injury to persons and property. Thus the conditions of city life require that carriages and bicycles moving at night along public streets should display lights; and the conditions of river and ocean transportation demand that certain routes should be followed, certain signals given by passing ships; and the wilful neglect of such regulations must be punished. All these rules and penalties must be published for the information of the persons concerned.

4. Social Reasons for Penal Laws. — Without attempting to repeat here the definitions of the vast number of prohibited acts, we may briefly, by means of concrete illustrations, consider the way in which the public sentiment and will is formed far deeper down than the decrees of legislatures or the decisions of courts.

All the common beliefs and convictions which demand and support government are at the basis of the penal laws which protect the existence and secure the efficiency of that government. The traitor who betrays the army to a public enemy; the judge or witness or voter who sells his service to a private party to the injury of the community; the man who swears falsely in signing a record or assessment roll; or who refuses to obey the command of a court; or who resists the officers of a penitentiary,—all these are in various degrees rebels against the order of society, and are common foes to mankind.

Unless public sentiment, on the whole, decisively favors the law and the penalty, they become powerless. Examples of this principle are numerous. In large cities it is found impossible to enforce prohibitory liquor laws, because drinking habits are common among the people and are not regarded as evil, while the law itself is regarded as oppressive and despotic. In such situations the friends of the law must work to educate and persuade the citizens that the regulation is good, and form a sentiment which will not only pass the law but enforce it.

In some regions the persons who are engaged in a strike may be so favored by the surrounding community that it is difficult

to make arrests even when the law is violated. Juries may refuse to convict. Here again, where public sentiment is wrong, it must be changed by education, and where the law itself is imperfect and works hardship and injustice, it must be modified so as to be just to all. For example, union working-men are in antagonism to the law in certain places because the government suppresses strikes by armed force, and yet supplies no tribunal of law before which they can bring their grievances and secure a hearing and an adjustment. New Zealand has such tribunals, and both parties, upon a legal demand, must submit their disputes for compulsory arbitration. In that country they have no strikes, because public sentiment will not tolerate suspension of industry when it is known that all can be heard by an impartial court. If public sentiment should change under the pressure of some new force, the law would be a failure.

Deeper still than public opinion are the forces which make for change, the conditions to which sentiment and belief must ultimately yield as the price of existence and of well being. The growth of population, improvements in machinery and means of transportation, the diffusion of knowledge in consequence of the labors of original investigators and advance in public instruction, create new possibilities of offence and make some crimes obsolete. Thus the modern trade union and the strike have compelled states to pass new penal statutes. The massing of children and women in factories has called for regulations of hours and machinery, and thus for new definitions of crime.

The criminal law against profanity and blasphemy is seldom enforced, and all penalties against dissent in religion are antiquated, save in backward communities. Society finds other and better ways of suppressing coarse and impious language, and abandons legal prosecution of religious opinion and worship as useless and unjust.

The more refined and just estimate of the value of literary products has created copyright laws protecting authors from theft of the fruits of their spiritual labors.

The recent and colossal forms of commercial combinations and great organization of capital have compelled fresh thought and novel laws regulating monopolies and special privileges. The community can never permit a small minority of men, protected by society, enriched by its labor and purchases, to raise the price of goods at will and act without regard to the common welfare. Selfish use of arbitrary power is inevitable, unless there is legal control in the interest of all. Hence new legislation is made necessary by conditions utterly unlike anything known to the former lawmakers and courts.

In the ancient world the destruction of superfluous and especially of deformed infants was regarded as praiseworthy, as necessary to the welfare of the community. But under Christianity infanticide came to be regarded as wicked, and was made punishable by law. Only a short time has passed since slavery was legal; now the attempt to restore it would bring punishment. More fundamental than opinion was the economic fact that slavery was no longer suited to the modern conditions of production.

Thus, multitudes of illustrations might be given to prove that what in the conditions of life is hurtful comes to be recognized as morally wrong, and at last is authoritatively forbidden under legal penalties. The legislatures and courts are the final organs for the declaration of the moral judgment of the people; but the moral judgment itself is changed by the readjustments made necessary by the shifting of conditions and relations.

5. Organization of Courts and Criminal Procedure. — A description of the social mechanism for dealing with crime must include a sketch of the agency for interpreting and applying the criminal law in concrete cases in federal and state and local courts.

The courts of the United States have jurisdiction in all cases which arise under the constitution, general laws, and treaties, and they take cognizance of violations of the laws of the Union, as embezzlement of pension money, fraudulent voting for members of Congress, illicit distilling of liquor, and neglect to pay internal revenue taxes. State courts have jurisdiction within the bounda-

ries of the states to which they belong. There is much variety in the titles, arrangements, and functions of these courts, and we cannot take up details in this place.

The legal investigation and decision must observe certain technical forms which have been evolved through a long experience, and the purpose of these forms is to protect social welfare and the rights and liberty of each citizen. The criminal himself has rights which must be sacredly guarded, even while he is held to account for his transgression. Every citizen has a right to be protected from arbitrary arrest and inconvenience. If, occasionally, a criminal secures immunity by taking advantage of the imperfections of human devices for safeguarding the innocent, this is not an argument against the measures themselves, if, on the whole, they are necessary for their primary purpose.

The popular impatience at the law's delays and uncertainty of conviction is not always intelligent, and the mob spirit which brushes past the slow dignity of courts to inflict punishment without forms of trial is a distinct step backward toward barbarism. Reason must not act impulsively; it must take on dignity, caution, formality, so that the evidence may be fully presented, and the reasoning process in judge and jury have time and leisure for the complicated process of reflection. This experience of the danger of short and quick and impulsive reaction against crime is the explanation of the forms of procedure, and of the various steps here mentioned.

Arrest. — The offender, or the person supposed to be an offender, must be secured in legal form, by conservators of the peace, as judges, sheriffs, constables, policemen.

Warrant. — The general rule forbids the officer to proceed without official warrant, issued by grand jury or a justice of the peace. But any citizen may make arrest of one who commits an offence in his presence, and all are under obligations to assist the officer in discharge of his duties.

Examination is a preliminary step, taken to ascertain whether there is reasonable cause to hold the accused to appear before the

grand jury. In trivial cases a magistrate may be empowered to give a decision and assign a penalty (summary jurisdiction).

Commitment and Bail. — The magistrate may discharge the prisoner, or set him free on bail, or commit him to jail for detention awaiting trial.

Grand Jury. — The criminal accusation is tested before a grand jury at its regular session, and a bill of indictment is found or the accused is released.

In the indictment the offence must be carefully described, so that the prisoner may know the nature of the accusation, and be prepared with evidence and argument in his own defence.

The next step is arraignment before the bar of the court; where the prisoner hears the charge of the prosecution and pleads, perhaps by his counsel, "guilty" or "not guilty."

Plea and Issue. — Upon the plea of guilty the judge may decree the sentence or take evidence of the degree of guilt. If the prisoner pleads not guilty, his attorney may object to the jurisdiction of the court, demur, offer plea in abatement or bar, or try the issue.

Trial. — A right to a speedy public trial before an impartial jury is secured by the constitution, and the accused cannot be compelled to go far from home and friends to meet the prosecution.

Judgment. — At last the person found guilty hears the sentence of the court, and still he may secure release by new trial on writ of error or by pardon. Only after all these formalities have been observed is the convicted felon or misdemeanant handed over to the sheriff for the execution of the sentence — fine, imprisonment, or capital punishment.

Thus our English law has sought to prevent the action of passion and prejudice, of partiality and grudge, even in its process of dealing with public enemies. Shrewd villains, helped at times by unscrupulous attorneys, may take advantage of weak places in the law of procedure, and public interests may be sacrificed. But error is inevitable, and we must not break down the defences of honest men, falsely accused, for fear that an occasional criminal may escape.

The decisions of courts which involve deprivation of liberty and the stamp of disgrace must be above suspicion. They must be deliberate, conservative, and prove themselves worthy of confidence. The criminal himself must be made to see, if he is capable of seeing, that his sentence is free from revenge, and is just and reasonable, the product of a reasoning process in which logic and facts are made superior to passion and sentiment. He must be made to feel, if possible, that he deserves his sentence and that it is intended for his lasting good. Every step in the legal process belongs to the system of social protection and reformation of offenders, and the methods of procedure should be adapted to promote the ends of that system, just as much as the discipline of the reformatory or penitentiary.

6. Medical Jurisprudence. — An important discipline auxiliary to the judicial process is the science and art of medical jurisprudence. In the delicate and doubtful cases on the borderland between insanity and criminality there is demanded, for the aid of the court, the knowledge of experts in psychiatry.

The principle of decisions in criminal law is the responsibility of the accused. The irresponsible cannot be treated as criminals, although the insane may be dangerous to society and require seclusion and guardianship. Infants, the insane, idiotic, senile persons of decayed powers, cannot be punished for violation of the criminal code. In the doubtful cases brought before judges and juries, their decision rests upon medical testimony as to the degree of responsibility of the accused. Legal accountability involves a certain degree of intelligence, the power to discriminate between good and evil, to weigh the consequences of an injurious deed, and to appreciate the value of the regulation violated. There must also be ability to direct conduct, according to this judgment of good and evil. The will is involved as well as the intellect, because the nature of man is a unity, and there cannot be a sound mind when any point of the mental life is seriously impaired.

The law defines the age at which a child becomes legally

accountable, and the mental state of insanity which forbids a verdict of criminal guilt. The court must decide upon evidence in each particular case, and part of the evidence may be the testimony of medical men. The physician ought to have, in addition to the general knowledge of medicine, some experience in dealing with the insane and some skill in psychiatry.

The court may be compelled to consider not only the various forms of insanity, but also states of unconsciousness, intoxication, febrile delirium, and other temporary departures from normal conditions. The physician does not give advice to the court, but simply testifies to facts as he sees them within the range of his professional observation.

7. Crime in International Law. — The modern systems of communication and transportation, and the consequent interchange of goods and ideas, have brought the countries of the earth more closely together. It is more easy for a criminal to escape from the scene of his deed and find asylum at a distance and among strangers.

In former times there was less necessity than at present for pursuit of the offender. Public opinion and law have changed with changing conditions and relations. The person who attacks the rights of person and property in one country is the enemy of all; he is injurious to humanity, and cannot with safety be granted impunity and asylum in any country.

On these common interests are based the extradition laws, which are usually the result of treaties between governments. In the absence of a treaty each nation decides for itself on grounds of benevolence, comity, or justice. Most of these treaties are the products of the thinking and negotiations of the last century. Lawrence defines extradition as "the surrender by one state to another of an individual who is found within the territory of the former, and is accused of having committed a crime within the territory of the latter." It is generally required in these cases that reasonable *prima facie* evidence of the guilt of the accused shall be offered; that the person shall be tried for the offence charged in the re-

quest for extradition. If the offence is of a "political character" extradition is ordinarily refused. But it has been found difficult to define a "political offence," and nefarious crimes sometimes go unpunished by means of a plea based on this ground.

Lawrence suggests this test: "If political offences were defined as acts done for political objects which would be allowed by the laws of war were the relations of belligerency established between the doers of them and the state against which they are done, we should be able to distinguish between those crimes which shock the conscience of the community, though the perpetrators of them are actuated by political motives, and acts which bring down upon the doers no strong moral condemnation, though we may think them violent and foolish." Under such a rule bomb-throwers, dynamitards, pétroleurs, and secret destroyers would be subject to arrest and extradition.

8. Penalties. — The enforcement of the sentence of a court belongs, not to the legislative and judicial, but to the executive and administrative system of the state. The penalties are defined and limited by law, and more specifically by the court; and the general policy of administration is determined by law, but all details of personal treatment from the moment of conviction and sentence are in the hands of an administrative branch of the public service. The consideration of this system of administration belongs to the general subject of penology, whose elements are to be treated in the following chapters. But many of the reforms or improvements demanded by our studies of penology must secure their realization through modifications of the criminal law; and, therefore, at each step of the study of penology we are obliged to review some point of penal law.

CHAPTER IV

ELEMENTS OF PRISON SCIENCE.

"It is said that once the murderers, highwaymen, witches, thieves, and other similar loose characters appealed to the highest magistracy to do away with gallows, wheels, and witches' stocks; and they argued that these were dreadful objects at which travellers must stop their noses, mouths, and eyes. But the answer to them was, that these things would not be removed until they had ceased to be robbers, murderers, witches, and thieves.

"Then one of them, prompted by the others, took up the argument and said, 'Gentle sirs, we have not invented pilfering, strangling, necromancy, and stealing; and we do not think we shall bring them to an end; they existed before us and will remain when we are gone.'

"To this the judges answered: 'You evil fellows must know that we likewise did not first build gallows, racks, and stocks, nor did we invent them; and much less to pleasure you will we banish them.'" — Quoted from Johann Stiefler in Jacopi Dõpleri, "Theatrum Pœnarum Suppliciorum," I., Cap. I, etc. (1693).

PENOLOGY, the social treatment of the convicted criminal, covers not only prison science, but the entire system of punishment and reformation. The prison, while the most conspicuous factor of this system in modern times, is by no means the sole instrument for the correction of offenders nor the sole agency of deterrent influence. The reform school might properly be included here, but as minors are not in law fully accountable, and as the treatment of juvenile offenders is more closely akin to the school system, we shall give that subject a special chapter.

The recommendations of reform and betterment will be suggested in connection with the description of the actual methods of institutions already in existence. Improvement is possible only through gradual transformation, and instantaneous transformation

is impossible and undesirable. The changes which are here advised are such as have already been in part tried, and they are in the direction in which practical men are moving. Each recommendation in this chapter has been tested by conversation and correspondence with men engaged in administration, although absolute unanimity is not claimed for each opinion.

1. The Object of the Penal System.—The immediate and obvious purpose of penal measures is to execute the sentence of courts pronounced in accordance with law and evidence as to the facts. The criminal law of the commonwealth determines the boundaries of the penalty, although much of detail must be left to the discretion of administrators.

Underneath the law itself is the purpose of the people, in whose name and for whose welfare law is made. In modern civilized society, the objects of the law are to secure the community against the acts of dangerous men; to awaken wholesome fear of the consequences of unlawful acts by deterrent agencies; and, if possible, to reform the offender, or fit him by educational means for the life of a free and trustworthy citizen.

All pain and loss and deprivation, beyond what is necessary to attain these reasonable ends, is unjustifiable and irrational; and society has the right and the duty to employ the degree of pain, loss, and deprivation which is really necessary to secure these ends. Even those who reject capital punishment will usually admit that robbers and rioters may be shot down by policemen or soldiers, if that is necessary to protect life, property, and order.

2. Institutions whose Primary and Legitimate Purpose is Detention.—It is necessary to have a temporary place where persons arrested by constabulary or police can be securely held until a judicial process has determined their guilt or innocence.

The city lockup and the county jail are examples of this kind of establishment. Their primary and only proper use is the safe detention of persons charged with offences, but not yet legally proved guilty. They are not undergoing a sentence as convicted persons, but are simply held for trial. The burden of proof rests upon the

prosecuting parties and the state. The presumption is said to be that they are innocent until they are proved guilty.

The structure of the lockup and the jail usually corresponds in a general way with their purpose. They are simply strong cells surrounded by a wall. The "model" lockup or jail has a separate cell for each prisoner, so as to prevent all association and recognition. The common corridors and open cell doors of the ordinary jail are the occasion of grave evils. The wicked and hardened criminal, the drunken savage, the vile and sensual pander, the corrupting and diseased tramp, are often permitted to communicate freely with comparatively innocent lads "caught in guilt and first confusion," or arrested for transgressing an unimportant municipal ordinance. The old repeater of crime, the professional burglar in search of apprentices, should have no opportunity of teaching the youth the ways of crime and of gaining personal ascendency over them. The separate cell is the only contrivance for avoiding the evils of contact. It is not enough to have separate divisions for men, women, and youth, as many seem to imagine. Parsimony comes to prove extravagant, and stinginess is a cruel wrong, when public money is refused to meet the cost of a decent and humane building for the detention of persons awaiting trial. The jail is as truly a sign of the culture of a community as the church, school, or art museum. It shows what the people think about justice, humanity, and evil.

The organization of officers corresponds to the nature of the establishment. The sheriff, police officers, or some deputy is in direct responsible control, with such assistance as is thought necessary for the prevention of escape, the care of the building, and of household affairs.

The county jail should be built and used only for its primary purpose, the detention of persons awaiting trial. It should not be a place for keeping innocent witnesses whose testimony is wanted by the prosecutor, although a separate and convenient apartment may be provided for this purpose under control of the sheriff.

The jail should not be a place for holding the persons of the insane, not even for one night. A detention hospital, or temporary place of security, with proper attendance, can easily be provided. Public officers should be legally forbidden to keep the insane in lockup or jail, and cities and counties should be required to furnish a temporary hospital shelter until the afflicted patient can be taken to a special asylum.

The jail should never be used, as it ordinarily is used, for a place of punishment. All authorities agree that one of the most effective agencies of increasing crime is the loafing hall of the county jail in the United States. Idleness and association with bad men are two of the chief causes of criminal disposition and habit. The county jail, as generally built and administered, furnishes idleness and vile associations, and thus makes the establishment a free school for the training of public enemies at public cost — a seminary of crime with gratuitous instruction in the trade.

"Our jails and city prisons are usually designated by penologists as schools of crime. Nearly three-quarters of a century ago De Tocqueville emphatically declared that the county jails of this country were the worst prisons he had ever seen. In 1880, Dr. E. C. Wines, speaking with a comprehensive knowledge of the subject, said the jails showed little marked improvement since the days of De Tocqueville, and added that the entire county jail system of the United States was a disgrace to our civilization. The Executive Committee of the Prison Association of New York has expressed the opinion that if an institution were established in every county of the state in which the processes corresponded with the inscription on the entrance door — 'Vice and Crime Taught Here' — the work of manufacturing criminals could hardly be done more effectually than it is done by our county jail systems" (Dr. W. P. Letchworth).

When a man is convicted of crime he ought at once to pay his fine, or be released on probation under suspended sentence, with guarantees of good conduct, or be set to work at useful labor, and that in a house equipped and organized for regular industry. There should be district workhouses, under state control, in various parts of the state, to meet this demand.

The floors of city stations are sometimes made the lodging places of tramps. This is a terrible abuse and full of dangers to the health of the wanderers, the police, and the public. The practice should be legally prohibited, and municipal lodging houses, under strict police supervision, should be substituted.

Matrons. — In every jail or city police station where women prisoners are held for trial, matrons should be appointed to have immediate charge of them. It is debasing to both men and women to neglect this provision. Women criminals must be searched for weapons and papers and evidences of complicity with criminals, and this should be done by women.

Workhouses. — For the jail, as a place of correction and working out of sentences, should be substituted the district workhouse. To this should be sent all misdemeanants, and those convicted of minor offences whom it is desirable to imprison. Some cities already provide such prisons, but all of them should be parts of the state system and should be distributed in various districts so as to be convenient, and meet the wants of the entire population. There are few counties large enough in population to require separate workhouses, and therefore it is most economical to join several counties in one district for this purpose. This has been done in the building and maintenance of poorhouses, and there are legal precedents. A further reason for this plan is that such institutions are penal establishments and, for administrative efficiency, are best placed under control of state officers. Labor should be required in rational and productive industries, with cumulative sentences instead of the short sentences now prevalent. The depraved and habitual criminal should be excluded from liberty, compelled to work for his living, to learn some useful art or process, if ignorant, and to be cured, if possible, by prolonged treatment for disease or inebriety.

3. The Prison; the Institution for Control of the Corrective Process. — There are some common features in all prisons, whether penitentiaries, reformatories, or workhouses; and there are certain characteristic elements in each. It cannot be claimed

that there is general agreement in respect to the details of prison architecture, and there is great variety in the forms of edifices.

Structure; Prison Architecture. — The theory of the founders is the ruling force in determining the shape of the edifice. There is opportunity here only to notice a few types. In every prison there must be means of holding the prisoners securely. The arrangement of walls, cells, gratings, doors, gates, bars, locks, watch towers, must be such as to make it possible for a few officers and guards to control a large number of men, all of whom crave liberty, and are every moment eager to breathe free air and go their own ways. Provision must always be made for feeding the men, for sanitary disposition of waste, for exercise, industry, instruction, and worship. The prisoner for the time finds his home, his social world, within the confines of the walls. All the wants of a human being must be supplied, yet in such a way as to make the place and mode of life deterrent, and not attractive. The cell, the kitchen, the shop, the school, the chapel, the hospital, are common to all correctional establishments.

But these common needs are met in different ways and by various forms of structure.

The "separate system" calls for a series of large cells in which the prisoners live in isolation from each other, but not excluded from a degree of companionship with warden, guards, physician, teachers, chaplain, and authorized visitors from the outside world. In his lonely cell the convict passes months or years. There is his bed for sleep, his table for eating and writing, his bench for work, and outside a little space for exercise in sunshine and fresh air.

The advantages claimed for this type by its advocates are these: it removes the man from evil associates; it trains him as an individual; it increases the personal influence of the authorities and teachers, and diminishes the influence of criminals; there are opportunities for reflection; the convict who is disposed to cut loose from the criminal class cannot be identified afterward by professional criminals, and so led back into evil ways by the fear of betrayal.

The opponents of the separate or cellular system have urged that there are great disadvantages. It is a costly method of building, since the cells must be of solid construction, and should all be on the ground floor to permit easy access to the exercise ground. The system does not admit the free use of modern machinery and steam power; and the man thus trained to hand work finds that he is not ready to take his place in a factory with modern methods of production. The product per man is also necessarily small, and the financial results unsatisfactory. It is claimed that the loneliness of solitude is injurious to morals and to mental and physical health; that the convict is unfitted for social coöperation by the habit of working and living so much alone. The cellular prison sometimes becomes crowded, owing to the pressure of occupants and the difficulty of securing appropriations, and then two or three men must be lodged together where only one was expected to live; and in this condition the separate system has broken down and evil results follow. The natural life of man is in coöperation with his fellows, and a system should tend to prepare convicts for freedom.

While the separate system has but one important institution to represent it in the United States (the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania), there are many in Europe. The International Prison Congress of 1900 discussed the results of the experiments, especially in Belgium, and reached the conclusion that the method must be regarded with favor; that it has met the expectations of the promoters in diminishing or checking recidivism and general criminality, and that even when prolonged during ten years and more of confinement, there are no more unfavorable effects upon physical and mental health than occur under other methods, provided that those already seriously defective are removed.

Even where the separate system is not adopted for the entire long term of imprisonment, it is thought by many high authorities to be valuable for all short term prisoners, and for the first few months of a long sentence. A period of separation and of solitary reflection, with a complete severance of all communication with

vicious companionship, seems to promote the moral influence of the officials.

The "congregate system" is the most common plan in the United States. In the better establishments of this kind, the prisoners sleep in separate cells, but work together during the day. They eat their meals either in a common dining hall, or in their cells. Generally the convicts are forbidden to converse with each other, but it is impossible to suppress communication altogether. The prisons built on this plan are less expensive than those on the separate system. They can use machinery and steam power to advantage, when this is thought desirable, and the outdoor military drill and gymnastic exercises are more easily managed.

4. Organization of the Staff. — The board of managers, as a rule, represents the state and may be clothed with powers of appointment, making of general regulations, and oversight of conditions of parole. A prison commission may act for the entire commonwealth for certain purposes, as the direction of industries and the disposal of their products.

The responsible administrator is generally called the warden or superintendent. It is his duty to have oversight of the execution of the judicial sentence, according to the principles of the institution. As he is responsible to the managers or other legal representative of the people for conduct and results, he ought to have corresponding power of appointment and discharge of all subordinates, under the civil service regulations of the merit system, and he should be required to make such records as will protect the inmate from arbitrary and cruel treatment. There can be no success if there is divided responsibility. There can be but one directing mind and will in an institution, although the warden himself is held to rigid account for all his acts, commands, and their results.

Directly under the warden are the deputies and assistants, officers of the guard, the corps of clerks in the office, the foremen of the shops, and the director of the kitchen and housekeeping.

The physician is responsible to the chief for the sanitary and

hygienic arrangements of the institution. He controls the dispensary and the hospital, directs the nurses of the sick, examines those who claim to be unfit for labor, and detects malingerers; and he ministers to those who require the ordinary medical and surgical attention of his profession. Since the physician of a prison must deal with many abnormal persons, he should have knowledge of nervous diseases and experience in hospitals for the insane. In cases of doubt, where there is a question of mental disturbance, it may be wise to call in for consultation two or more eminent specialists in insanity. It is frequently desirable, especially in large establishments remote from cities, to have a medical man resident in the house, but this is not always practicable. The physician should be provided with means for giving suitable light employment to confirmed invalids who are too feeble to endure the tasks assigned to ordinary laborers. Convicts who are too old and infirm for labor should have assigned to them special quarters. The physician should be charged with the duty of preventing the communication of disease, especially consumption; and the establishment should be constructed and furnished with this end in view. In the meetings of the staff, where matters of discipline affecting the health of prisoners are discussed, the medical director should have a voice. He should be consulted in relation to all plans of buildings, and give advice in respect to dietaries, clothing, labor, and disciplinary punishments. Within the province of his profession he should have an independent position and the final word. If he is incapable, he should be discharged upon evidence sufficient to convince a commission composed of eminent medical men.

A teaching force is generally employed where there are many young convicts. In some places the chaplain is required to conduct this branch of the prison work.

Religious services are conducted by a regular chaplain or by ministers residing in the neighborhood. In civilized lands prisoners are not deprived of religious helps. Due respect is paid to their denominational preferences, Roman Catholic, Protestant,

Jewish. Logically, in a country like ours, where church and state are separated, the religious services should be supported financially by the various denominational missionary societies, and the appointments should be made by those who pay. It would be necessary for such arrangements to be subject to the approval of the governor or other authority, and the warden must always have power to prevent any interference with the order and discipline of the establishment. As a matter of fact we are not logically consistent, and the appointment of chaplains, as well as their payment, has become, by common consent, an affair of the executive of the government. Of course there is danger of merely partisan appointments, but the judgment of the religious community is felt to a great extent, and the influence of the National Chaplains' Association and voluntary societies tends to prevent gross abuses and to raise the quality of the service. Since it is generally conceded that religious motives are an essential part of moral sanctions and influences, the State is bound to see that spiritual agencies are employed. Education without religion is incomplete, and the correctional process is essentially educational. Since the state is quite secure from ecclesiastical control, the argument from logic is less conclusive, and practical demands of the situation seem to determine the policy of selecting religious teachers by public appointment.

5. Life Activities of the Prison. — We have to do with a relatively complete and self-sufficing community, isolated from the opportunities of the outside world, yet designed to fit men for adapted conduct in that world. The daily and weekly routine must be regulated with conscious reference to this corrective and restorative purpose.

The penitentiary is not designed to be a factory or mill erected by the state for the production of marketable goods and for revenue. The controlling principle must be the reformation of the convicts. All financial considerations should be subordinated to this end. The supreme tests of success are not the goods produced, but the saving of men from a career ruinous to themselves

and hurtful to society. Yet economy, thrift, industry, are essential factors in the reformatory process, and they are demanded by the interests of the people who support the prison.

At the basis of all successful treatment of convicts is intelligent care of the physical health. Many of the prisoners are defective, ill-nourished, and diseased. Their physical defects have made them more than normally irritable, weakened their power of self-control, unfitted them for regular and remunerative industry, and increased the temptations to crime. There must, therefore, be provision for plain, well-cooked food, in sufficient quantity; and it should be served in a way which will train rude men to decent and civilized forms of eating. For this last reason it is much better to have a common dining hall, where the simplest lessons of table etiquette may be taught; for etiquette is really "minor morals" and has strong influence in subduing the animal impulses connected with eating and other physical functions. Perhaps this point has not been estimated at its true value in past practice. But any one who will consider the difference between the gorging and ravenous feeding of brutes, and the deliberate and genial manners at the table of refined families, will appreciate the importance of the suggestion.

In the better institutions provisions are made for physical exercises, carefully directed to the correction of bodily defects, weaknesses, and diseases. The gymnasium, the bath, and even massage and electricity are employed to rebuild the broken and enfeebled organism, and fit it to be the keeper of the reconstructed soul.

Industry. — Regular, rational, and productive industry is now universally recognized as an essential factor in reformation. Many prisoners have grown up without skill and without habits of industry, and these faults and defects have brought them to disgrace and pain. If they are ever to become useful citizens and coöperators, instead of parasites and robbers, they must gain both skill and good habits.

The manual training school is suitable for industrial and reform schools, and for the intermediate prison or reformatory

for young men. It lays a broad foundation for later developments of skill in special directions; it awakens the dullard to increased quickness of mental activity; it helps the mathematically deficient to master form, number, proportion; and it enables the passionate and ungovernable to restrain and direct their impulses of temper and appetite.

The Trade School. — Among the causes of crime the want of skill has been noted. The modern industry has small and diminishing place for training apprentices. Machines are costly, the organization is compact, the movements are swift and closely interdependent. Who can stop the machinery of a monster mill or factory to teach an awkward boy a trade? How narrow, mean, and useless at best, for culture purposes, is the technical trick which is learned in a specialized modern factory or shop. Trade schools in prisons fit men to do a particular thing in a way to enable them to offer marketable labor when they return to freedom. It is a necessary part of the best reformatory method, particularly for that large number of young men who have never had a chance to learn any useful calling.

The Shops and Occupations. — For the older prisoners, who are past the plastic age of youth, there is less encouragement to provide manual and technical instruction. But all, old and young alike, must be trained in habits of industry and self-support, must be kept from the demoralizing and degrading effects of idleness, and must be required to do all they can to support themselves.

Literary Instruction. — The opinion is frequently expressed that only primary instruction should be furnished to illiterate convicts. This is a perverted notion of the function of literary teaching. Men are influenced to good living by multiplying their higher interests and by taking off their attention, as far as possible, from the imperious cravings of their animal appetites. When the power of the state takes possession of a man's whole personality, his nature should be plied on every side with the motives which fortify his conscience and his taste against the tyranny of the brute in him. The man should be studied as he is, and

should be led upward from the point he occupies when he is incarcerated by all proper and available instrumentalities. Instruction is, indeed, a tool for helping the economic life, but it is also an instrument of quickening all the higher centres of the brain and creating strong inward allies and friends of the new purpose to live a better life among men. The library is often made a powerful aid of teacher and chaplain. If a taste for good reading can be formed or fostered, it is one more pledge of better conduct.

Discipline. — Under this head we discuss all the systems of devices for shaping the habits of men so that they will conform to the normal requirements of free life in society; as, the Grade System, the Mark System, and Disciplinary Punishments.

The grade system is a very common method of provisional classification of prisoners. Usually the men are divided into three classes according to their manifestation of character; and each man wears a uniform or bears a badge which shows to all observers the grade to which his conduct has assigned him. All enter the intermediate grade, and rise to the highest or fall to the lowest according to their deportment, labor, and study. The conditions of promotion or degradation in rank vary with the institutions. The privileges of each grade differ, and every inducement is offered to encourage advance. Since the grade is determined by the record of marks, we may consider the modes of regulation of life and conduct under that head.

The Mark System. — The grading, privileges, and hope of earlier release on parole, where parole is granted, are measured by the record of the prisoner for demeanor, labor, study. Obedience to orders, moral conduct, voluntary performance of assigned tasks, are reported and accounts are kept. When study is made a part of the regular life, diligence and success in examinations are usually made part of the basis of marking.

Infractions of the rules are followed by reduction in grades of good standing, and, in some institutions, by a regular money fine for each offence. Where the cash standard is adopted, an account of services is kept to the credit of the convict, and he is charged

with the expenses of his living and with fines for defects in conduct.

The purpose of the marking system is to provide an accurate and impartial method of showing the progress of the convict toward fitness for freedom.

The misdemeanors of prisoners, which are marked against them, may be illustrated from this list: absence from shop, class or drill; assault or fight; disobedience to orders; disrespectful conduct to officers; fraud; possession of contraband articles; insolence; insubordination; larceny; licentiousness; lying; intentionally incorrect report; malicious mischief; misrepresentation; profanity or vulgarity; refusing to give name or number to officer; threatening or provoking language; wilful neglect of duty. Less serious offences are such as carelessness in ranks; neglect of cell; spitting in ranks; damage to property. Labor defects are such as loafing, carelessness, negligence, wastefulness, poor work, and task shortage.

6. Disciplinary Punishment within the Institution. — The general public have but faint conception of the difficulties of managing a regiment of lawbreakers, whose very presence in a prison proves them to be in need of restraint and coercion. The economic interest of the state demands that they work for their living, both during and after incarceration. But many of them intensely dislike steady work and refuse to do it when escape is possible. Their entire habit and disposition are opposed to regular and sustained industry, and they naturally rebel against working without wages.

What should be done? The deprivation of liberty is itself a severe penalty and is much dreaded. For the majority a certain amount of activity and effort is a relief, especially when, under the marking system, it promises more speedy relief from confinement. The money rating of labor, with slight rewards and privileges for special energy and fidelity to duty are helpful means and tend to diminish the necessity for sterner measures.

But in all institutions and in all countries, though in varying

degrees, there is found a certain refractory and rebellious element who give great trouble to the best of officers. Some convicts are apathetic and sullen, and need a goad or spur; some are defiant and passionate, mutinous, revengeful, dangerous to life. The superintendent or warden is morally and legally bound to maintain order, protect life, and require obedience to regulations, and to keep all inmates at work. The prison is not a hotel where the indolent shirk may live in idleness at public expense. Hence the occasional necessity of disciplinary punishments, or means of coercion, about which there is so much careless and ignorant discussion, some of it inspired by fanatical sentimentalism, some of it the expression of thoughtless and cruel barbarity.

Several methods of coercion are practised, even by humane officials: Simple confinement in a cell, usually darkened in some degree or absolutely dark; deprivation of the more desirable and inviting elements of food; hanging by the hands chained to a door of the punishment cell during work hours or longer; and whipping with lash, or paddling. All these are forms of "corporal" punishment, for they all inflict pain upon the body. Many who abhor whipping, because it seems to harden and humiliate a prisoner, admit the use of the dark cell and isolation, forgetting that this mode of corporal chastisement may be even more severe and injurious. The deprivation of food may cause weakness and sickness, with unfitness for labor.

While, therefore, all such punishments should be carefully limited by law, by medical advice, by the presence of witnesses, and by an obligatory record of every instance with all details, they are in some form necessary. Each method has its advantages and disadvantages. No way has yet been found to dispense with all coercive measures.

7. The So-called "Indeterminate Sentence." — It is impossible for legislatures and courts to determine the exact measure of pain, loss, or deprivation which a particular crime deserves in the eye of absolute justice. It is also impossible to know in advance just how long it is necessary to hold a prisoner under discipline in order to

reform him and fit him for freedom. A definite sentence for a fixed term is, therefore, irrational; and the attempt of legislatures to measure retributive justice by fines and periods of incarceration ends in the most absurd and contradictory codes of penalty and decisions of courts.

The modern substitute for the determinate and exact sentence is the so-called indeterminate sentence. But no sentence, save that for life, is absolutely "indeterminate." A better expression is the "terminable" sentence, according to which the court is legally required to send a convicted person to a reformatory to be held until he is fit for liberty. The evidence that he is prepared for release and freedom is furnished by the convict himself in his conduct in prison and during conditional liberation on parole. Neither of these forms of evidence is sufficient in itself, and both must be taken together as parts of one system of treatment. Officers of a prison can see that a convict has formed and sustained habits of self-control, industry, and obedience to laws, and has manifested honesty and powers of reflection and consideration. They can know by tests that he has a degree of skill in some useful occupation which will enable him to earn the means of satisfying his wants in the outside world. Professions of good purpose in morality and religion are not reliable indications of reformation, and must be evidenced by deeds and by prolonged habits, within and without the prison.

Legislatures and lawyers have feared to remove the maximum limit of sentence lest the managers of prisons keep the convicts longer than is humane and just. But experience does not seem to justify this anxiety; and it would be easy to guard against abuses through judicial supervision of administration. The crowded state of most prisons compels the wardens to discharge the older inmates as quickly as possible with safety, and make room for new charges.

The International Prison Congress of 1900 expressed the conviction that the indeterminate sentence should not be applied to prisoners who are under an educational process, but that persons

of this class, whose reformation is hopeful, should be sentenced to a long term, and then liberated conditionally, as described in the next paragraphs. This leaves the decision of sentence entirely in the power of the courts, as before, but permits the prison officers to exercise a measure of discretion in the mode of treatment during the period of the sentence. The same high authority urges that radically different measures must be employed with recidivists; and that persons of this group should be subjected to prolonged sentences, with progressive extension for those who have served terms in former parts of their lives. This recommendation rests on the conviction that repetition of offence, after repeated applications of reformatory measures, proves a determination to continue in the crime career, and that the man of this habit should be permanently restrained of his liberty, for social protection.

In the case of irresponsible delinquents, as the insane and idiotic, the restriction of liberty should not be for a definite term, since courts cannot tell in advance how soon recovery may be secured, and public protection be guaranteed; but in such cases the confinement has nothing of a penal character.

8. Conditional Discharge and the Parole System. — We have seen that it is impossible to discover how a man will use liberty so long as he remains under coercion and restraint and in the direct control of prison officials. Within the high wall he cannot become drunk, nor can he steal, nor murder, nor forge signatures to checks, even if he has an inclination to such actions. He must be tested by actual experience of freedom, under supervision, before we can know how he will conduct himself as his own self-director.

According to the principle of the best modern legislation prisoners may be discharged conditionally before the expiration of the maximum term of their sentence, if their former lives and their behavior in prison warrant the privilege. The prisoner is permitted to go free on his parole, on his promise to avoid evil associations and haunts, to follow his calling regularly, and to

report at frequent stated intervals. He should not be released until a place is found for him to work, for idleness and want will lead him straight back to crime. The employer or other responsible citizen or officer is asked to confirm his report of good conduct.

At the end of his term of sentence, or even before, he may be discharged from surveillance, upon the recommendation of the superintendent. If the convict violate his parole and fall into vicious and criminal ways, he may be arrested and returned for further incarceration and discipline.

It is impossible, in the early history of an experiment, to guard against all abuses and evils incident to defective administration. For example, it has been found that criminals out on parole secure forged reports of good conduct while they are actually engaged in their old scheme as burglars and pickpockets. The police of cities bitterly complain that some of the most dangerous and cunning criminals thus escape punishment, return to plague them, and fill the city with professional and shrewd characters, who are difficult to detect and arrest. The remedy for this abuse of the system must lie in a more thorough supervision of those who are discharged. The administrative officers of the prison must be careful in their selection of men for parole, and vigilant in securing frequent and reliable information about their habits and conduct. It is imperative that a sharp distinction be made between professional, habitual criminals and the occasional offenders.

In the United States the principle of conditional release, with the "indeterminate sentence," is meant to apply especially to the more hopeful and reformable cases, and not to professional criminals. For the habitual criminal, both vagabond and professional, the "indeterminate sentence" should assume another form, and be based on a different principle; that is, the "cumulative sentence" should be employed to retain the dangerous criminal in custody as long as possible. Some of these men are excellent prisoners while they are inside the walls, and they cunningly plan to make as much "good time" as possible by

strict observance of the rules. They are under much better self-control than impulsive, reformable youth. There is no better illustration of the necessity of suiting the punishment to the crime, of adapting treatment to the nature of the man. The management of the occasional offender must be differentiated from that of the professional, in the conduct of both courts and prisons.

9. Forms of Prison Labor. — A fundamental principle of guidance here is that labor is necessary in the treatment of prisoners. The health and moral salvation of any man depends on regular and rational work. The criminal has lost his place among his fellows because he had not skill and habits of industry, and because he satisfied his wants by methods injurious to society. During his incarceration he is an expense to the state, and he should be required to do all in his power to support himself. If he is idle, then society, already injured, must support him by its industry without return from the culprit.

The reasons for requiring regular, constant, and useful work from all prisoners are thus drawn from considerations of humanity toward the criminal himself, from the economic interests of the community, and from the fact that the worst menace to social order and spiritual welfare lies in the activity of vicious and idle men. The wretched and destructive effects of confinement without occupation cannot be imagined by those who have not actually seen large bodies of men under such conditions.

It is therefore the duty of the state to provide occupation with rational, that is useful, industry, for all those who are deprived of liberty for the benefit of the people. And those who oppose certain forms of employment are under special obligation to propose better methods. A legislator who should demand the abolition of one kind of labor without knowing distinctly what should be substituted, is unfit for his high position. That the possible alternatives may be considered we shall here notice all the more conspicuous methods of employing the laborers in prisons, and at the same time consider the advantages and dangers of each system.

The Contract System. — The prison authorities make contracts with manufacturers for a certain price per day for each laborer, the prisoners working under the direction of the agents of the contractors. The machinery may be supplied by the state or by the contractors, according to agreement. For some reasons this plan has been found a financial advantage to the state. Men who are engaged in the business of manufacturing certain kinds of goods acquire skill in purchase of raw material, in the organization of a shop, and in the marketing of products, which is difficult for a warden to acquire, in addition to the many other forms of knowledge which he must possess. For these reasons the private contractor can sometimes, perhaps generally, secure better financial results than the average warden. If the costly machinery is put in by the contractors, the state is relieved of that heavy investment, and does not run the risk of market gluts and changes in prices of materials. The contractors secure a good day's work, in return for the price paid the state, by various devices, as presents of tobacco, money rewards for extra labor, and other inducements which appeal to hope. Contractors have generally discovered that hope and reward are more stimulating and sustaining motives than terror.

But, in spite of such advantages, the contract system is falling into disuse because of certain inherent disadvantages. Economically it is criticised for its tendency to mass competition with free labor at certain points, in special lines of production, and this objection comes from the wage-workers as well as from the competing manufacturers. The opposition to this system on economic grounds has led to legislation in many states forbidding the use of the system in prisons.

Another kind of objection is urged from the standpoint of discipline and reformatory purposes: the outside contractor interferes with the direction and control of those who are charged with the task of reforming the criminal. It is difficult, and sometimes impossible, to fit this external factor of control into the system of prison education. The minute division of labor made neces-

sary by the contract system interferes with that larger educational scheme which trains a man to meet the vicissitudes of varying industry in the world. This objection has special force where the prisoners are young and have not yet specialized their industry nor learned a trade. A young man is not much helped to cope with the intricate conditions of modern industry by being taught a trick of making the tenth part of a brush or the seventeenth part of a shoe.

The Piece-price System. — This is a modification of the contract system. The contractor furnishes material and receives finished articles at an agreed price, the supervision of the industry being in the hands of the prison officers. This control of the men without outside interference is a distinct advantage, but the economic objections urged against the regular contract method apply to this form.

The Public Account System. — Under this system of employment the state owns the plant, furnishes the raw materials, and conducts the business, through the officers of the prison. If there are any profits they go to the state to help pay the expenses of trial and care. The warden here is enabled to use the labor of the men as a means of reformation, without the interference of others; and thus he can maintain a consistent plan.

But there are serious objections to the public account plan. It requires, as a condition of profit, the use of expensive power machinery, — a heavy investment by the state. The management of the prison becomes a business likely to be dominated by money-making considerations. The reformatory and educational objects tend to be reduced to a minimum and lost out of sight. Financial anxieties absorb the energy of the wardens. Goods sold in the market tend to disturb prices and wages in the world, if sales are massed upon a small number of commodities. There is danger of scandal in relation to finances, as the amount of money handled by the warden must be large.

The Lease System. — The lease system is mentioned merely to condemn it. In this scheme the convicts are leased to con-

tractors for a fixed sum and period; the lessees undertaking to feed, clothe, and care for prisoners and to maintain discipline. Under such circumstances the state abdicates its function as public guardian of order and private rights, and surrenders control of its prisoners to irresponsible parties and to personal interests. Reformatory measures cannot be expected to be used in this situation.

Conclusion. — The state account plan is, on the whole, relatively the best, although it is not without difficulties. The manufacture of goods for public institutions, of state, county, and city, is some relief to the market, although it is a mistake to imagine that competition with free labor is thereby entirely removed. So long as men produce commodities for themselves, even within prison walls, they make articles which would otherwise be produced by free labor.

The enlargement of the school for technical training in useful employments, with an educational aim, would imply a large expenditure of money, but it would be economical, because it would fit men for citizenship and a place in the industrial system. If the number of trades taught were quite large, the product of any one would not appreciably affect prices and wages in the outside world. In any case, and under any system of labor, the production of commodities should be as varied as possible: first, in order to suit the occupations and training to the varied natures of the convicts; and, secondly, to avoid the massing of marketable goods in a few lines and the supply of discharged prisoners as laborers afterward in a few kinds of employment. It is desirable that the direction of industry for all the institutions of a state be under control of one administrative body, as in the state of New York.

The proposition is frequently made to work prisoners on public works, as roads, ditches, canals, dikes, farms, quarries, and fortifications. Many experiments have been tried in Europe and America. It has been found practicable to carry out this suggestion with a limited class of prisoners, with careful restrictions

and regulations. In connection with local prisons, as county jails, or workhouses, stone-breaking, brick-making, gardening, burning of garbage, and some such public industries have been successfully carried on, but only within confining walls, to prevent escape. In some few places "trusty" prisoners, whose habits are well known and whose term will soon expire, have been set to work on roads and in ditching operations.

But most convicts, especially if they have a long term before them, eagerly desire liberty, and will take great risks to free themselves from restraint and confinement. If they labor in large companies, experience proves that they must be chained together or be kept in gangs under the guard of men armed with rifles, who have orders to kill instantly those who attempt to pass a certain line.

The cost of supervision is very great. The gang system involves, of necessity, the killing of many prisoners, so that, in a certain degree, such treatment means actually capital punishment, which is not contemplated in the law. The spectacle of such gangs laboring on the highways, where they must come in contact with persons of all ages, is demoralizing and degrading. For restraint and care during the night and on Sundays some sort of a prison is still necessary, even if it be no more than a stockade. Such extemporized prison pens soon become foul and dangerous to the public health. In our long and cold winters this method of employment is utterly impracticable on account of the severity of the climate and the condition of the materials of labor. Furthermore, most of the younger prisoners come from the industrial centres, in the older states, and the training given on rough public works has no educational value for them. It is useless to spend time and means on giving agricultural training to young men whose habits, friends, and nature fit them only for urban life. Open air labor, therefore, is to be used only within narrow limits, and the suggestion goes but a little way to solve the problem.

10. Prisons for Women. — These institutions should be under

the government and administration of competent women, and absolutely separated from prisons for men. Industries adapted to women should be carried on. Discharged prisoners should be carefully watched over for many months, by agents of the administration, until they have been fully restored to good habits. Either the indeterminate sentence or a system of conditional liberation should give to the superintendent of such a prison control long enough to make the moral treatment thorough and effective.

Hardened thieves and prostitutes should be held under progressive and cumulative sentences for public security. Short terms of imprisonment for such characters have no reformatory value, and social protection requires their permanent segregation.

In no case should reform schools for girls under eighteen years of age be connected, in any way, with prisons for women. Such schools will be considered later, in the chapter devoted to juvenile offenders.

In the best prisons for women there is, as in men's prisons, a system of grades, marked by distinctions of dress, diet, tableware, and treatment. A period of probation is passed in cellular isolation in a well-lighted and well-ventilated, but austerely plain room. There the woman who has been brought away from the wild and tumultuous life of passion is permitted to become quiet; she is shut off from the news of that mad world which has ruined her happiness and character; she gradually becomes hungry for company, and glad to have visits from the officers; cases of *delirium tremens* and insanity are discovered and treated; and thus preparation is made for the next stages of discipline. Members of different grades are not permitted to speak with each other. They are all taught to think, to consider, to fill their minds with new and higher images and materials of reflection, and they are trained in some useful industry. Religion, in its simplest and most universal forms, is made to enfold them as an atmosphere full of light, mercy, and hope. "Ambition, without which no reform is possible; self-respect, which is the key-

stone of character; self-control, which is character, — have been gained by many an unstable, sinful, or despairing soul simply by the purposeful effort to attain the best rank in her little world," said Mrs. Ellen C. Johnson, of blessed memory.

11. Centralized Administration. — A state commission is required in each state, in order to secure uniformity and efficiency; to prevent local abuses; to bring faults into the light of publicity; to adjust the industries of all institutions to changing public needs; and to transfer prisoners from one institution to another, according to their nature and needs. So far as such duties are administrative they may be assigned to a special commission; but judicial functions require some relation with the courts of justice.

12. Selection and Training of Prison Officers. — The superior officers, as wardens, superintendents, physicians, chaplains, should be chosen by the constituted legal authority upon evidence of adequate general intelligence and special experience. It is desirable to appoint the superintendents from the ranks of those who have served in subordinate offices before being intrusted with the complex and delicate interests of a prison. It is a fortunate tendency that wardens are now more frequently chosen from among the deputies of successful prisons; and thus a very desirable professional spirit is fostered. But the danger of losing a position through change of political parties, and the low salaries offered, are both obstacles in the way of building up a large and permanent corps of professional prison officers.

The subordinate officers should be selected on the Merit System, which includes a preliminary examination as proof of general intelligence; probationary tests, to show practical qualities of character and fitness; promotion through grades of rank and payment, to encourage men to improve themselves and be faithful to duty; security of tenure during good behavior and satisfactory service; with exemption from removal without cause given to the appointing authority of the commonwealth. These principles will secure men of intelligence, character, and training.

The education of prison officers should be both theoretical and

practical. If the policy of promoting trained and efficient men to the highest positions is to become general, it will be necessary to select and educate the men who are appointed to the lower positions. For men of the highest rank and ambitions in the profession the universities offer courses in criminal law, anthropology, penology, and sociology, which will impart the necessary historical and theoretical information. These advanced studies can be followed up by the use of professional libraries, which should be furnished for each institution.

In addition to security of tenure and protection from unjust, malicious, and irresponsible attacks, the salaries of officers should be large enough to induce men of talent and administrative ability to seek such positions and continue in them, even when their administrative business abilities open the way to lucrative commercial positions.

Neglect of attendance upon the meetings of the National Prison Association is unprofessional conduct, and each state should provide for the expenses of two or more officers of each institution to enable them to attend.

Within each prison there should be systematic instruction of subordinate officers. A plan for such classes, to be directed by the warden, or his representative, is given in the appendix to this volume. The practical and technical training in the duties of each position can be given only by means of the daily routine, under the regulations of the warden and board. But theory and practice must go together if we are to secure the highest results. The meeting in council of all the prison officers is a favorable opportunity for considering, not merely the actual rules and life of the establishment, but also the principles and reasons which underlie all specific actions. Men who move mechanically, under specific orders, without being taught to consider the reasons, become automatons, lack initiative and invention, and become mere slaves of monotonous routine. Energetic and effective men soon seek escape from this deadly grind, where creative mental activity has no outlet or expression.

Some beginnings have been made toward the establishment of schools for teaching those branches of knowledge which are necessary for intelligent and progressive officers of reformatories and prisons. These attempts will be more likely to succeed as the present wardens become convinced of their value and send younger officers to attend them, as teachers are sent to summer schools, or institutes, or normal schools. If the Merit System is sustained, as it now seems probable it will be, ambitious people will have more encouragement to secure an education for such positions; but where appointments are made on the basis of favoritism and partisanship there is no outlook for those who prepare themselves at much cost for a position where such preparation is not even required as a condition of promotion.

13. Substitutes for Imprisonment. — There is great need of revising our exaggerated estimate of the prison as the almost exclusive mode of reformatory action. Historically, incarceration is a recent method of punishment, and even now it is not always the best and wisest means at the disposal of judicial authorities.

There are serious disadvantages of the prison, especially for short term sentences. The ordinary congregate prison compels association with criminals, and thus the influence of strong bad men over the weaker and more pliable natures is continued. Plotting and planning crimes to some extent are possible. Prison life is, for those not already habitual associates of criminals, a contaminating agency.

The separate, cellular prison is free from the objection just named, but it cuts the prisoner off from normal, industrial, and social life, from family and friends; and it is very costly to the state or municipality.

The record and title of the ex-convict is always against him, and hard to live down; he is discouraged; he is hindered from finding and holding employment. Especially in the case of first offenders this record should be avoided if possible.

Applied to old and hardened offenders, who are accustomed

to the prison, it has no repressive and no educational effect. Some men actually seek incarceration and find it restful, — a good way to recuperate for another debauch, an asylum provided for them at public expense. This is true most of all of the county jail.

Experience proves that, for many of the criminal class, the prison fails in both its main objects: it does not deter and it does not reform. Victor Hugo said: "What is the name which criminals give to the prison? the 'college.' An entire penitentiary system issues from that term." It is easy to make exaggerated statements on this point, and affirm, as some do, that the prison always corrupts, never reforms, and never frightens. None of these statements is true for all persons. Many people are held back from crime by fear of the consequences, and many are restored to life reformed and improved. But it is also true that the prison does not touch the permanent causes of crime which inhere in the economic conditions, the bad housing, the neglect of education, and the hideous squalor, filth, and misery of cities. The prison comes too late to touch these factors.

Without going into general social reforms at this point, we may consider some of the proposed substitutes for the prison and its deprivation of liberty and suspension of normal habits of industrial and domestic life.

The Probation System. — The main features of this method are ordinary arrest, detention, investigation, and probation. Persons charged with drunkenness, for example, or some other offence of a relatively mild nature, and who are presumably not dangerous or habitual offenders, are temporarily placed in a House of Detention. An officer of the court is appointed to investigate their character and history by inquiries in the cell and among associates and neighbors. The purpose of this investigation is to discover the environments, influences, capacity for work, and tendencies of life, and to report to the court. If the court finds it unsafe to give the person freedom the regular course of law is followed. But if there is hope of reformation without

deprivation of liberty, the judge grants a "continuance" of the case pending probation; the offender is released on promise to maintain good conduct, and the probation officer visits him or her once each week and makes certain that the advice of the judge is followed. Industrial occupation is secured at home, or with an employer, or in a private institution; and a relation of friendly guidance and assistance is maintained. Thus an offender may be reformed, or prevented from becoming a habitual criminal, by personal influence and help, without losing time from employment, without being cut off from family and friends, and without incurring the reputation of a "jail-bird."

Fines. — It has been found possible to substitute fines for imprisonment in many cases, where the offence is not serious and the security for payment is ample. Judges in states which give the option generally prefer to inflict fines, if this way is open to them. In cities there are great abuses, but this is no objection to the principle. If the bondsmen are not responsible they should not be accepted by the court, and a state commission could prevent such perversions. Professional and dangerous criminals should always be imprisoned without giving their comrades the power to set them free by paying a fine. It is almost inevitable that a poor man must go to prison if he is not able to pay his fine; and it is sometimes objected that this introduces injustice and partiality. But it is not impossible to secure good bondsmen for honest men, and few will suffer merely because they are without money, if they can give security for good conduct and agree to pay their fines in instalments.

Reparation. — It has been proposed that reparation to the injured party be required as a condition of suspending the sentence of hard labor in prison, in cases where a private citizen has been injured. This is to be carried out without cost to the injured party for civil suit for damages, and the measure is intended not only to work justice, but to hold the malefactor to a course of moral training.

Closely related to this device is that of compulsory labor under



the directions of agents of a court, without imprisonment. But such measures are not applicable to vagrants, or to dangerous criminals, or to any who are likely to run away from the jurisdiction of the court.

The advantages of the method of requiring reparation for injury are: the victim and his acquaintances realize that the state is the agent of justice between men. The indemnity is often needed to prevent the suffering of the family of the victim, who may be ill able to bear the loss. The influence of the criminal court among the poor, which is now frequently none of the best, would be wholesome. The policy of demanding reparation from the guilty party is an important means of furthering his genuine reformation. Profession of repentance without self-sacrificing effort to make restitution must be treated as insincere.

There are difficulties in the way of adopting this policy. In the United States the victim can sue the offender by civil process and recover damages. This is a costly method, and generally the criminal is propertyless and not financially responsible. The principle of trial and procedure are different in civil and criminal law. In civil action a simple preponderance of evidence is enough to secure a verdict. In criminal actions the evidence for conviction must be so strong and cogent as to leave no reasonable room for doubt. In civil cases a jury may not be necessary, while in criminal actions the defendant may demand a jury. In criminal causes the party acquitted is absolutely free, and it would not be wise or fair to deny the victim the right to secure justice by a civil trial, which he now possesses. In criminal cases the state prosecutes, while in civil cases the plaintiff is a private party.

What is the way of escape from these difficulties? It has been suggested that the state may include in the penalty a demand for restitution. If the victim accepts this award, he would be estopped from civil action. The collection of the award is a formidable difficulty, since the criminal usually has no means to pay, except his labor. The state has a prior claim upon his labor because of

the public expense of detection and prosecution. But the wages of prison labor might be divided between the state and the victim, and in case of conditional release one condition might be that part of the wages earned should go to indemnify the victim, until all should be paid.

Colonies. — For vagrant, feeble-minded, futile, mendicant, and semi-criminal persons, it seems desirable to establish voluntary and also compulsory agricultural colonies. Where men are willing to submit themselves to control voluntarily and to accept discipline and training for industry, it may be sufficient to provide colonies on the German plan, without restrictions as to coming and going. But for those who are lawless and criminal such colonies of training must be compulsory, since such men will neither accept the discipline which is good for them nor continue under it. Drunkards should be provided for in special hospital asylums, under long sentences of three or four years, and kept at work in the open air as much as the climate will permit.

Whipping, inflicted by public authority, but without exposure to the public, is recommended for cases of assault on women, for wife-beaters, and similar offences. The danger of abuse, however, has been thought to be so great that this suggestion has not often been incorporated in penal law.

14. Asylums for the Insane Convicts. — Crime, in modern criminal jurisprudence, is the voluntary act of a responsible person. In doubtful cases the physician or psychiatrist is often inclined to emphasize personal defect, disease. On the other hand, the judge regards his reponsibility for the protection of society from harm. The reconciliation of this conflict may be effected by provision for the detention, restraint, and care of dangerous persons, convicted of crime, who are thought to be insane. Here we must carefully distinguish between two classes of persons: (1) those who have previously good reputation, and, having become insane, are dangerous; (2) those who have a record for crime, and have become insane at the time or after

the time of the criminal act. Those of the first class should be sent to ordinary hospitals and asylums for the insane; those of the other class to asylums connected with the prison system. It offends the moral and humane sentiments of the people to mingle persons of these two types in one company.

15. Capital Punishment. — In former ages this was the ordinary penalty for offences which were not repaired by fines. It was often the legal penalty for minor offences, as stealing. Now it is rarely inflicted except for murder or rape. The tendency is to substitute for it some form of life sentence.

16. Deportation was once a common mode of punishment; but it is retained by very few nations, and would not be tolerated in this country, although it is occasionally suggested. Persons who are ignorant of the English experience with transportation to colonies, or who defy the lessons of experience, may be heard to advocate the sending of convicts to Alaska or to the Pacific islands. But the arguments used by our forefathers against that injustice would rise from their graves to condemn such an infamous policy of a strong nation. Furthermore, criminal law is chiefly an affair of the several states; and it is not states, but the federal government, which possesses colonies and territories. No state in the Union has any control over any region outside of the jurisdiction of its own courts. The United States courts might be given power to transport federal convicts; but the economical and moral objections would be found too strong against this antiquated and obsolete policy. Each people must face and solve the problem of crime on its own soil, which produced the criminals.

CHAPTER V.

PREVENTIVE MEASURES.

THE necessary limitations on the efficacy of the penal system compel us to give attention to the measures for preventing the beginnings or the repetition of criminal acts. In this chapter we shall deal with some of the more direct means of inhibiting criminal conduct, with suggestions of a system of social arrangements whose purpose is the prevention of the conduct which tends toward crime. The direct preventive measures are designed to act upon arrested persons, with a view to preventing recidivism, or habitual repetition of offences; and the first to be mentioned is: —

1. **Registration and Identification.** — The social control of members of the criminal class depends on thorough knowledge of each member of that class of the community by the authorities. One of the common tricks of one who has lost his good name is to assume a new one, that is, an "alias." An upright man does not like to change his name even if it is unmusical and tediously frequent in use. Most normal persons feel it as a slight if their neighbors cannot recall their names on seeing their faces, and much of social influence is lost by forgetting the marks of individuality. But in the world of criminals things are upside down, and all our ordinary standards are reversed. One who is "wanted" by the detectives for a serious breach of law hides under a false name, changes his dress and hair, tries to cover his tracks, breaks with his past, foils the shrewdest of the police, and starts, foxlike, on a new stage of his cunning game of hide-and-seek. If the indeterminate sentence is to be enforced, especially with cumulative sentences for recidivism, and shorter



terms, with probation, for first offenders, there must be knowledge of the character and personal history of each old offender.

The older method of identifying criminals was very crude and unscientific. It was based upon that general study of faces and figures upon which men rely for the ordinary business and intercourse of life, and it answered the purpose fairly well in the simple conditions of agricultural society, with few cities, and a comparatively small number of criminals devoted to the business. Detectives were sometimes quite shrewd in recognizing faces; but many innocent persons have been arrested, put to great inconvenience, and permanently injured in reputation because they had some resemblance to certain law-breakers. Photographs were taken to supplement the memories of detectives, but they had little value, since it is so easy to transform the appearance completely by trifling changes of hair, beard, and dress; and a photograph carelessly taken may itself be a source of confusion.

The Bertillon system, now coming into common use, is based on the measurements approved by the experience of anthropologists, and promises to become a great factor in the identification of professional criminals, as well as in the protection of innocent persons falsely accused of crime. It is simple, easily used by policemen, and effective for its purpose. Bertillon distinguishes three kinds of "signalment," the anthropometrical, the descriptive, and the use of marked peculiarities. The anthropometrical signalment is based on these principles: (1) The almost absolute immutability of the human frame after the twentieth year of age; (2) the extreme diversity of dimensions which the human skeleton presents when compared in different subjects; (3) the facility and comparative precision with which certain dimensions of the skeleton may be measured. Two photographs are taken, one of the front face and the other of the profile; and these are taken on a uniform plan, by cameras screwed into the floor, from a chair likewise fixed so that the relative proportion of height and size are kept exactly in all pictures. The color of

the eyes is a means of identification of considerable value, as this factor is not under the control of the volition of the criminal. Scars, warts, excrescences, deformities, and other marks are carefully noted and recorded. But the main reliance is on the exact measurement of the bones of the body, since these are never the same for two persons, and, after adult life, do not change in the individual. The measurements taken are the full height standing, the length of the trunk or sitting height, the stretch of the arms, the length and width of the skull and of the right ear, the length of the left foot, the middle and the little finger of the left hand, and of the forearm. All these facts are set down, according to the metric system, on cards which also bear the photographs; and these cards, often many thousands of them, are classified in cabinets according to the groups into which they naturally fall. If a prisoner unknown to the police must be identified, in order to fix the evidence upon him and to discover whether he has a previous bad record under some other name, he is measured, and the files are sought for a card bearing his former history. In a few minutes the former card can be found, and the identification is certain and complete without danger of injustice to an innocent person. The cards are classified and subdivided by sex, by head lengths, by head widths, by lengths of middle finger, etc.

As a direct means of prevention this system is valuable because it deters men from making a record from which they cannot escape; it makes the trial more accurate and just; it facilitates speedy and certain condemnation; it diminishes those technical delays of law which tend to arouse the gamblers' instinct in the criminal class.

To make the Bertillon system as efficient as it is capable of becoming, it should be managed by the general government, or by some commission with a central bureau, so that any city police authority could instantly communicate by telegraph with men who have copies of all the records made in the United States. A still more advanced step will be taken with the establishment



of an international bureau for the record and detection of criminals.

If the methods sketched above under the head of prison laboratories should be generally adopted, the Bertillon system would form a part of a more general scheme of study of convicts. The preventive value of such studies is apparent, since a thorough knowledge of each man is necessary as the basis of the most effective reformatory measures, discipline, probation, grading, punishment, parole. Indeed, the best effects of these modern measures of reformation depend largely on the full and accurate knowledge of individual cases.

2. Substitutes for Incarceration. — Among other wise and effective measures to prevent recidivism may be mentioned those substitutes for incarceration already discussed under penology. These do not apply to confirmed criminals, but they are very useful in dealing with younger offenders, whose moral sense has not yet been completely subverted and corrupted.

3. Care for Discharged Prisoners and their Families. — One of the most certain facts in the range of our present studies is that discharged convicts must have remunerative employment immediately upon release if they are to be saved from return to crime career. Most of them are poor, and are dependent upon daily labor for daily bread. Even a brief period of idleness brings them to distress. During their incarceration their families, dependent on them, are, in most instances, charges upon public charity, especially where the convict has wife and children. This urgency of need in the case of a majority of convicts is an essential factor.

It is also a very common experience, easily accounted for, that convicts find it difficult to secure positions. Introductions from the superintendent of a penitentiary are not the best kind of recommendations. Workmen do not like to associate with a "jail-bird." Thus the convict, upon his release from prison walls, confronts a frowning world; his own conscience makes him uneasy and sensitive; his memory haunts him; and his fears

exaggerate his suspicion that all men suspect and hate him. Perhaps those who are less depraved suffer most from such inner weakness, and find it hardest to face their fellow-men in their shame and self-condemnation.

Various methods have been devised and tried for the aid of discharged prisoners. Private enterprise has not been in vain in the various Christian countries of Europe and America. Even when the state acts with a complete system, the coöperation of private parties is always of great value. The visitors of such societies become acquainted with the prisoners previous to discharge, learn their capacity for industry, their previous history, and their hopes. These visitors correspond with the friends of the criminal and seek to reëstablish friendly relations with the family, with employers, and with kind citizens who may help the man to get on his feet again.

One form of help must be employed with great caution, if at all. There are great evils connected with homes for gathering discharged men into one place. Their contact tends to deepen the bad influence of those who seek such temporary shelter merely as a basis for raids as soon as chance offers. There is very general agreement among wardens that convicts should be scattered at the very door of the prison, and not congregated in private institutions, where the police have no direct control over them. The sooner convicts are lost in the multitude of working-people the better for them and for society.

The most promising method is that of state provision and control, with auxiliary private aid and personal service. The central principle governing all dealings with convicts is social protection and the reformation of the offender. The state should carry out this purpose logically and thoroughly, when once its courts have convicted a man of offence. The control of the discharged prisoner should be simply a regular part of the treatment. It has already been shown that conduct under discipline is no secure guarantee of good conduct in freedom, and it is mockery to permit a man to go entirely free while this uncertainty exists.

Confinement for a certain term is not the payment of a debt; indeed, it involves increased expense to the community, since the earnings of prisoners do not support them. Discharge from prison is not the termination of the process of punishment, but only a stage in that process. Final release from the grip of discipline should come only when the constituted guardians of public safety and order have assurance in the conduct of the convict that he may be trusted with liberty from surveillance. If this principle be accepted, as it is already in part and falteringly, it will follow that the authorities intrusted with the treatment of convicts will extend their agency over the prisoner after his discharge for a time sufficient to secure proof of his upright habits. This principle will require that previous to discharge the administration provide employment in some remunerative occupation for which the convict has preparation and skill. It is useless and dangerous to send out a man to find work for himself, with no other recommendation than a card of dismissal from a prison. The saloon and the boon companions of crime are ready to greet him and steer his steps back into evil ways; and in his loneliness, feeling of desolation and discouragement, he is powerfully tempted to accept their hospitality until he can join them in preying on the industrious and honest. An agent of the prison should travel over the commonwealth to make arrangements with employers to give work to those who are able and willing to work. This can be done better by an accredited agent of the government than by any other, for the reason that the paroled man is still under the power of the authorities of the prison, and this legal power gives them a firm hold upon the man such as no private party can gain. He is conscious that any departure from right action may return him to the place of restraint for a long period.

To the objection sometimes offered that the state by furnishing employment for convicts does more for them than it does for honest laborers, the answer is, that the convict is in an entirely different position from that of ordinary laborers; and that it is to the interest of all citizens, even of all wage-earners, that men

shall not be permitted to rove about like dangerous wild beasts, with no possibility before them but to rob and to kill. In a well-ordered state this reproach will not be well founded, since free bureaus of labor are there provided for all.

It is quite safe to go further and claim that public security demands that, if ordinary industry does not supply occupation, the convicts shall be held in compulsory agricultural colonies, rather than be permitted to wander at their will. Nothing short of the most thoroughgoing and vigorous system can ever bring the criminal class under social regulation. At present, a large part of the work of the police consists in watching men who are known to have no other business than that of burglary and kindred occupations.

But voluntary societies for aiding discharged prisoners and their families, as auxiliary to the state system, or as a substitute for it, perform a valuable service in all Christian lands. Their agents assist the prison officers in preparing the prisoner for a place before his liberation, and make known to him the various avenues of employment which are open to him. The society secures and presents information about opportunities of employment, but, as far as possible, it may require the convict himself to make the effort to find work. Under some circumstances the man must be both trained and tested before any private society can recommend him. The bureaus of information are often helpful in securing places for discharged men.

One of the most powerful motives which act to restrain men from lawlessness is family affection. A young man who has some regard for parents and sisters, or wife and children, has natural ties to honor. But if this bond is severed by incarceration, and all communication is broken up, the influence grows weaker, and finally loses all force. Therefore it is desirable that from the first days of imprisonment the man be encouraged to communicate frequently with those whose affection is a redeeming force with him. In this connection the service of chaplains and visitors of societies is of immense value. And if local societies

arrange to visit the family, to cheer and protect the wife and children or aged parents, to prevent dependence and deeper humiliation, and to promote the exchange of letters, they assist materially in the process of reformation. The federation of churches in every county and city, with the association of charities, should work systematically to look after such families and win back the wandering member to his duty and his home.

4. Certainty of Detection and Conviction. — The practical principle is now generally accepted that severity in penalty is relatively of little consequence compared with swiftness and certainty in the legal procedure and the penal process. Hanging and whipping seem to have little effect in deterring the careless and reckless youths who go into crime. But when it is understood that justice is swift, accurate, and impartial, those who are caught in its toils are more chary of placing themselves once more in its power. It is the gambling chance which actually attracts the criminal and makes his destruction more sure. Justice should be made to work, so far as possible, like a natural law, surely, quietly, noiselessly, and with absolute certainty. The ideal cannot be at once and perfectly attained, but it may be approximated. To meet this need we must strive for upright and well-organized police forces, whose individual members will be rewarded and honored quite as much for warning and preventing as for arresting and convicting.

Clean courts and upright magistrates, especially in city police courts, are demanded by this situation. It is needless to point out that these courts come nearer to the life of the poor than those which are used in civil cases by the comfortable classes of society; and one of the most active and poisonous influences for evil in cities is the venal conduct of many of these lower courts of summary jurisdiction. Where the court officers are in collusion with corrupt police and partisan hacks to accept hush money from brothels and gambling dens as a price of immunity, we have the conditions of contempt for law which demoralizes those already sorely tempted to rebel against morality.

The movement of bar associations to correct the errors in procedures so as to avoid the abuses of technicalities by unscrupulous attorneys of criminals, is in the direction of improvement.

One serious obstacle in the course of justice is the abuse of the power of reprieve and pardon by the executive branch of government. It is thought desirable to remove this historical power of the executive as far as possible from the region of caprice and favoritism. The system of marks and parole, regulated by boards or commissions, with conditional liberation and surveillance of police, tends to reduce the abuses of the pardoning power.

5. Police. — The chief impediments to efficient police service are: The appointment of policemen for partisan reasons, nominally by mayor or board, but really by a local alderman, and the system of paying police magistrates with fees instead of salary. For example, the magistrate is paid for the trial of a prostitute whom he dismisses without a fine, or with a small one which is really a tax, and a tax which he divides with the policeman for his share. The policeman, if honest, is discouraged from making arrests because he sees that it does no good, or if dishonest, he makes arrests in order to divide the spoils with the magistrate. Another more direct method of spoliation without justice is to charge houses of ill fame a certain sum for immunity from police disturbance, which sum naturally does not go into the public treasury. Police are very often burdened with matters which properly belong to officers of health or education. Interference by the mayor and other officials to protect their political friends from arrest is a degrading custom. The vices of licentiousness and gambling are hindering and corrupting influences. Prostitutes and gamblers, by the aid of bribes and local political work, often secure license to pursue their nefarious callings unmolested. (N. P. A., 1891, p. 107.) The reform of these evils would go far to prevent crime.

6. Checks upon the Hereditary Supply of Bad Stock. — Various methods of elimination have been proposed for cutting off the



increase of the criminal classes by some scheme of elimination.

The first of these, stated in its baldest form by McKim, is to kill all persons whose hereditary strain promises bad issue. Under this scheme all defectives and confirmed criminals would be placed in air-tight compartments and be put to death without pain by the introduction of some poisonous, but not unpleasant gas.

Obvious objections to this plan are: that it would imply such a wholesale hardening of public feeling as would amount to a transformation of the entire community into a community of criminals; that it would come too late, since before these persons could be proved to be incorrigible criminals they have already produced offspring endowed with their own traits; and that such a monstrous and colossal application of capital punishment would leave the social causes of crime untouched.

Another scheme has been proposed by many thoughtful persons: sterilization. Surgery has reached a point where this can be effected painlessly and without danger. It has already been employed, sometimes at the request of the patient, as a hygienic measure; and so long as it can be defended on the ground of advantage to the prisoner, there may be little popular objection to it. But again it must be said that the remedy is of very limited application, and comes too late; it does not prevent the mischief of vicious heredity before conviction, and it does not touch the social causes of crime. Bad sanitation, imperfect education, neglect of industrial training, low wages, would still produce their natural crop of criminals, no matter how far these schemes might be carried out.

It has also been urged that society extend the method of permanent segregation of criminals, as well as of imbecile and chronic insane. Under progressive and cumulative sentences this policy might be carried out without departure from legal principles already adopted.

This policy would unquestionably free society from many dan-

gerous persons, but the social causes of crime would still remain for cure.

Féré has suggested that the intermarriage of morbid with healthy stock may help to bring up those on the lower level to the normal average. But there are great difficulties in the way of applying this remedy. It is notorious that the weak and depraved tend to associate with each other, as they are rejected by the superior, and thus they tend to intermarry and aggravate their tendencies to degeneration. It seems probable that the sound stock would suffer far more than intermarriage would benefit the decaying stock.

Morbid heredity is by no means fatal and certain. Better nutrition will often lift a descending family to strength and vitality. As too great heat or cold causes monstrosity in the unborn child, so the proper temperature and other suitable physical conditions enable the mother to give the world a normal child. This suggestion of Féré makes plain the close and vital connection between the questions of crime and pauperism and the "labor question." Good wages means sufficient nutrition, warmth, comfort, vigor, not only to growing individuals, but even to the embryo in its development.

But there is a large class of degenerates who cannot safely be left to this process of improved nutrition and crossing with better elements. They must be kept from propagation by isolation, and, perhaps, by surgery.

Among the measures of prevention may be mentioned the restriction of immigration. No modern nation now pursues the policy of sending its criminals abroad to prey upon foreigners. But certain "philanthropic" societies are very fond of assisting youthful, and even aged, offenders to make a new start in America. Occasionally we find such methods complacently reported in the publications of English and other humane societies as a praiseworthy enterprise. It is needless to insist that in this country we regard these devices as a menace to our security and health, and we resent them as offensive and injurious. Discussion and

experimentation in this country have gradually produced a system of inspection and of return of defective persons which is fairly efficient, although it requires further amendments, and many very dangerous criminals cannot be rejected as defectives. There is nothing in the appearance or condition of habitual offenders which would justify a port immigration officer in sending them back to their own native land. The effort to restrict the migration of criminals must rest on international coöperation, and on a method of recording the history and the individual characteristics of refugees from justice.

7. Removal of Social Causes of Crime. — Each of the following measures has a literature of its own. We have been dealing with particular symptoms; here we open the subject of constitutional treatment. Outside the direct action of constituted authorities upon members of the criminal class, we must consider those measures and agencies which diminish the force of the downward pressure of general conditions. This is the counterpart of the earlier discussion of the social and other environmental causes of crime, since each cause may be brought, to some extent, under the regulation of the organs of community life.

No list of reforms and modes of betterment made by one person would be accepted by all, and it would require a treatise to present the reasons for some of the more important recommendations. A few examples must be chosen and presented without extended argument.

So far as defective economic conditions tend to augment crime the remedy must be found in modifications of our industrial arrangements. Social peace and good will are fostered by the voluntary action of intelligent and humane employers who seek to act justly and fairly, and even generously, with those who are under their direction; and there can be no doubt that the disposition and character of the employing class is a large factor in the creation of better feeling in the industrial world. The unrest amounting to standing revolt against the system which gives arbitrary power of employment and discharge and discipline to the

owners of the instruments of production may in time be modified in many ways: as by the extension of trade unions and of coöperation on a voluntary basis, by the extension of state and municipal enterprises, and by boards of conciliation and arbitration, voluntary or compulsory.

Since much of the dissatisfaction, misery, and anxiety of the working-people arise from uncertainties and vicissitudes of commercial life, we may hope that social peace and order will be promoted by schemes of insurance against fire, sickness, death, or old age; either by mutual benefit societies, or by state action, as in Germany, or by the organization of insurance benefits by great corporations, under state regulations.

Since much of crime arises from the premature and irregular employment of children in unsuitable industries, to the neglect of their education and training, we may look to factory legislation, inspection, and improved organization of schools for much relief.

Standing armies, while necessary, are a great source of depravity, a financial burden, and a cause of social irritation; and social peace demands that they should be restricted within the narrowest possible limits.

Since alcoholism is recognized as one of the chief causes of the overthrow of reason and conscience, of sanity and self-control, we must press forward in the effort to find means of reducing, if we cannot abolish, the evils attending the custom of drinking stimulants and the traffic which fattens on the souls of men.

Improved systems of poor relief and charity must also be counted among the aids to removal of crime causes.

Since crime is, essentially, merely the gratification of natural desires in antisocial and selfish ways, in excess, and in lawlessness, we have reason to hope much from the improvement in education, in the multiplying of rational recreations, in the growth of art interests, of music, and landscape gardening, and cheap dramatic entertainments of a worthy kind.

Religion will use all these means, will inspire the community to gratify the higher wants of men, and will add its own supreme and attractive objects of adoration and aspiration, its hopes and sanctions, its consolations and its ministries. Sectarian divisions will be diminished more and more; idle and futile controversies over insoluble problems will yield place to ethical studies and practical endeavors to meet the certain and exigent needs of humanity; and all devout and believing people will organize their agencies in one grand and federated system for this universal ministry to the soul of the race.

CHAPTER VI.

SOCIAL TREATMENT OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

1. The Causes of Juvenile Delinquency have already been considered when we were studying the forces which tend to pauperism and the general causes of crime.[1] Here we have to deal with persons who are only in a modified sense capable of committing crime, and yet who are a menace to the community and are going the way which leads inevitably to criminality, unless some check intervenes.

It is desirable to bring into clear relief, at this point, certain general facts and conclusions which should be borne in mind during the consideration of methods of dealing with juvenile offenders.

2. Classes and Distinctions. — Juvenile offenders and morally imperilled children fall into several groups: (1) Neglected and abandoned children under eight years of age, both male and female. In this case we have nothing to do with penal agencies, but only with the child-saving agencies discussed in our Part II. (2) Children between eight and fourteen years, who are morally imperilled. These also have been considered in Part II, and will occupy us here only incidentally. It is true that some of these children appear to be very monsters in their precocious criminality, and must be isolated from ordinary children. Such are those whose parents have taught them to be vicious and filled their young minds with images of lust and wickedness, who have sent them out to beg and pilfer, or run upon infamous errands. But they have not sinned against an awakened conscience, for the moral nature is yet undeveloped, and the dangerous signs of evil are due to abnormal brain structure or

[1] Chapter II, 5.



to imitation of vicious example. They have a certain degree of intellectual power to discriminate between right and wrong, but a very imperfect idea of remote consequences; they are morally immature, and have not yet acquired the power of self-control. (3) We have next the adolescents, of the age from twelve to eighteen, the range of the period differing, within certain limits, with country, sex, and conditions. The period of adolescence itself has its crises and stages. The differences of sex become marked during this period, and are important considerations in respect to criminality. For our present purpose it is desirable to distinguish normal youth who are temporarily wayward, owing to the important physiological and psychical changes going on in their nature; the perverse, who are already deeply depraved and unfit to mingle freely with those of the group just described; and the abnormal and feeble-minded, whom we have considered in Part III. Among juvenile offenders, as among adults, we discover that sex modifies conduct; the girls are much less criminal than boys.

Age is also a decisive factor. The degree of maturity conditions crime. Children begin with petty theft and wandering, verging on vagrancy. With increasing vigor, strength, and passion the youths tend to commit assault and burglary.

In the Illinois statute the following definitions are made the basis of discriminating treatment: a dependent and neglected child is one who for any reason is destitute or homeless or abandoned or dependent upon the public for support, or has not proper parental care or guardianship; or who habitually begs or receives alms; or who is found living in any house of ill-fame or with any vicious or disreputable person; or whose home, by reason of neglect, cruelty, or depravity on the part of the parents, guardians, or other person in whose care it may be, is an unfit place for such a child; or any child under the age of eight years who is found peddling or selling any article or singing or playing any musical instrument upon the street or giving any public entertainment.

The words "delinquent child" include any child under the age of sixteen years who violates any law of the state or any city or village ordinance.

3. Correctional Agencies. — It would be difficult to describe all the methods employed in civilized countries for the trial and punishment of wayward children and youth. The attempt will be made to outline the methods which seem to accord most nearly with principles derived from the experience of the best courts and institutions, and to present the facts as a consistent system.

The Court. — A juvenile court is the central agency in a rational modern system of dealing with delinquent children and youth. The judge should be chosen for his learning, his kindness, fairness, tact, and experience with children. No position calls for higher qualities and finer powers of judgment. The letter of the law carries one but a little way, and the exercise of discretion is of the essence of the plan.

Juvenile offenders should not be tried in the same court with criminals, but in a separate room and free from the depraving influence of a crowd of vile characters who usually haunt the police trials. A jury may be demanded, but it is ordinarily superfluous.

Any reputable resident of the state should have power to petition the court and call attention to a neglected, dependent, or delinquent child. The person who has charge of the child may be summoned to appear in the court and give answer to the declarations of the petition.

To carry out the purposes of the court the judge has authority to appoint officers to take charge of the child, to watch over its welfare, and to give information for the further action of the court. In some communities these probation officers are paid by a child-saving society without expense to the state; but this seems to be a temporary device. There is no reason why the state should not pay for such service, although coöperation with private societies of responsible persons may be sought.

Disposition of Delinquent Children. — The court may continue the hearing, from time to time, and may commit the child to the care and guardianship of a probation officer duly appointed by the court, and may allow the child to remain in its own home, subject to the visitation of the probation officer; such child to report to the probation officer as often as may be required, and subject to be returned to the court for further proceedings, whenever such action may appear to be necessary; or the court may commit the child to the care and guardianship of the probation officer, to be placed in a suitable family home, subject to the friendly supervision of such probation officer; or it may authorize the probation officer to board out the child in some suitable family home, in case provision is made by voluntary contribution or otherwise for the payment of the board of such child until a suitable provision may be made for the child in a home without such payment; or the court may commit the child, if a boy, to a training school for boys, or, if a girl, to an industrial school for girls. Or if the child is found guilty of any criminal offence, and the judge is of the opinion that the best interest requires it, the court may commit the child to any institution within the county incorporated under the laws of the state for the care of delinquent children, or to some similar institution. In no case shall a child be committed beyond his or her minority. Children under twelve years are not to be committed to jail or police station. They must be kept apart from adult prisoners. These provisions of the Illinois law may be modified according to local conditions, and they are here given as an illustration of a principle which promises important and beneficent results.

4. Methods of Correction. — It remains to consider the various means by which the action of the juvenile court may carry out its purpose.

Admonition. — In many instances the judge is able to discharge his entire duty to an erring child simply by warning and instruction. He has to deal with ignorant, untaught, and undeveloped children. A dignified, impressive, and fatherly lesson, delivered

from a position of power and authority, charged with wisdom and kindness, often makes a profound impression on a young person, and frequently it is all that is necessary to support parental authority and the counsels of school-teachers. Not seldom the parents themselves require such advice and a certain menace of punishment, since their own negligence or vice may be the primary cause of the evil actions of their offspring. If a child or youth can be dismissed with an admonition and without a formal record of sentence passed, the evil of a criminal history is avoided and the future is not clouded with this memory.

Conditional release and conditional condemnation are more severe measures, sometimes made necessary where a law has been violated and the subject is wayward and obstinate. Since a criminal record is thus made it should be avoided, if possible.

Under either plan the boy can remain at home, go to school, or learn a trade, without becoming an expense to society. As soon as wayward children are confined in a public institution they become a heavy charge, and many parents are only too willing to surrender their offspring to a boarding-school, under police regulation, if they can thereby escape the cost of maintenance and have the boy taught a trade. Indeed, it requires the greatest care to prevent some parents from actually leading their children into lawless acts on purpose to throw their support upon the city or state.

Fines. — In certain classes of cases the judge may set a fine, and require the parents or other persons to give security for its payment. Fines are the only form of penalty which do not injure beyond remedy. If the accused prove to be innocent, after a whipping or imprisonment, there is no adequate remedy, the pain having been borne; but a fine can be repaid, if innocence can be established. Fines must be fixed according to the ability of parents to pay; and this requires the exercise of wise discretion and detailed information on the part of the judge. If the fine can be made payable in instalments, the burden is not so heavy. The tendency and influence of this method of punishment would

be to improve parental care and discipline and enforce parental obligation, and so strengthen the educative value of the family life.

Corporal Punishment. — Customs, laws, and opinions of experts are divided on this subject, and we have not adequate data for a final judgment. There are few communities in this country where corporal punishment by whipping would be tolerated. No punishment avails if the social environment which produced the offence continues unchanged. The boy who is severely whipped and sent back to a brutal home and a vagabond gang of comrades, to live in idleness, cannot be expected to amend his ways.

Guardianship. — The judge must act upon information and advice, since he cannot personally visit and watch over all the hundreds of children who, in a great city, are brought to his notice. The corps of probation officers, therefore, is an essential factor in the useful working of a juvenile court. In addition to the official agents of the court, there are numerous child-saving associations which may be trusted with the wards of the court, under its direction and control.

Where there is a complete state organization of child-saving agencies, the county agents or representatives of the system may be charged with the duty of watching over the conduct and interests of those who have been before the courts or are out on parole.

Detention. — Children and youth awaiting trial should not be imprisoned, except in aggravated and dangerous cases. Parents may keep them at home, if the family life is suitable for this task; or voluntary societies may be responsible for them. In every way the child should be kept out of prison; for familiarity takes away that dread of the prison which acts, in some degree, as a deterrent influence on most young persons.

Day Industrial Schools. — Following out the principle already insisted on, that imprisonment should be avoided and parental duties enforced by the court, measures should be taken to keep the wayward and vagrant youth in the public schools by some adaptation of the schools to the needs of this class. It has

been found that boys who run away from ordinary book schools and persist in truancy, become enchanted with sloyd and manual training exercises, where their hands are kept busy with something tangible. Special rooms should be set apart for such cases, and the greatest pains taken to help the dull children before they are taken away from home and society to be shut up at public expense for a series of years. This method requires a great deal of thought and care, but it is rational, and it is necessary to secure the best results. If the family is too poor to support the children, then assistance, from private or public sources, must be provided. The authorities cannot enforce the compulsory education laws where extreme poverty compels the parents to keep their children at home. If the children come starved and weak to school, and thus unfit for their studies, they must be fed, even at the risk of pauperizing the parents.

A very desirable arrangement is to provide day industrial schools, preferably as part of the public school system, for those children who require such special treatment. The children of these schools live at home at night, but take one meal each day at the school.

Industrial Boarding-schools, sometimes called "Parental Schools." — While we insist that parental duty should be enforced to the uttermost, that vagrant and mendicant parents should be punished for sending out their little ones to beg or steal, it must at last be reluctantly admitted that separation from parents sometimes becomes necessary to save the child.

The best method for such a school includes the following features: a group of separate dwellings, each accommodating not more than thirty or forty boys or girls, under the charge of a master and matron; a central school, in which manual training and technical instruction are important factors; large grounds with facilities for outdoor occupation and recreations; careful medical supervision, with all the means of building up vigorous and healthy bodies; freedom from bars, grated windows, and all the signs of a prison; sentences not less than three months and not

more than two years; payment by the parents compulsory by law, up to the limit of the ability of the parents; with discharge on parole and subsequent watchcare of probation officers; boarding or placing out in new family homes as rapidly as may be, in cases where the home is an unfit place for the child; finally, restoration to normal social conditions at the earliest moment practicable.

Children under ten or twelve years of age should not be sent to such boarding-schools, but should be placed in families to be adopted if severed from the parents, or boarded out and supervised by a responsible society until final disposition of them can be made. The institution should be regarded strictly as a merely preparatory and transitional stage in the treatment even of youth advanced in vicious ways.

The Reform School. — An institution is necessary for youth who have committed acts which would send an adult to the state penitentiary, as larceny, arson, stabbing. In consideration of their immaturity, and the hope of their reformation, it is not wise to confine adolescents with old offenders, even for one night, in places of detention. In the lockup or jail they should be confined, awaiting trial, in separate cells, without possibility of communication with others. Their trial should be conducted quietly and without publicity, in a way to avoid making heroes of them in the criminal group. If certain more depraved and hardened cases are excluded from the population, and a firm and wise administration is maintained, the prison forms may be omitted, or greatly reduced. The occupations should be, as far as possible, agricultural and horticultural, and the educational influences should tend toward a career in country life. Even for rural industry the elements of the trade should be taught. Since many boys from cities are certain to return to their homes, a great variety of trades must be taught to meet their wants.

The previous history of the child or youth must be studied, so as to adapt discipline and education to its nature and needs. Youths accustomed to the city seldom are willing to go to the



farm, and must be taught town trades. Country children may be taught rural occupations. There should be no minute specialization and division of labor, and the effort should be to give general training.

All teachers should join with the children in actual manual work in order to set an example of the dignity and honor of labor. Fine precepts about honest toil do not come with sincerity and grace from teachers whose hands are never soiled. For this personal influence the cottage group system is far more favorable than the great military camp or barracks found in many places of the older types. In this connection may be added another consideration. "In every reformatory for boys there are those who have become adepts in crime, and who, like their elders in jails and city prisons, instruct the newcomer in the secrets of criminal practices. For this reason a reform school should be conducted on the cottage plan, and the boys separated into small groups, according to their different characteristics — say not more than twenty in one family" (Dr. W. P. Letchworth).

It must be remembered that these children will not live in houses of luxury. They will meet hardness, plain fare, and privation. Therefore, the institutional life must be plain and austere in furniture, while it must not be injurious to health nor offensive to good taste.

Youths should be taught to earn money, keep strict accounts, buy and sell useful and pretty articles, so as to learn the value of money.

All juvenile offenders under the age of sixteen years should be regarded as under reformatory education, and not as criminals; the institutions in which they are trained should be called schools, and, logically, should be under the control of the school authorities, and not form part of the prison system. Youths over sixteen years and under eighteen should not be permitted to mingle with those under sixteen. Children under twelve, who are in moral peril or have committed an offence, should be regarded as simply wards of the state when brought to the notice



of the court, their treatment having been sufficiently discussed in our Part II. The state guardianship of endangered children should extend to civil majority, save that by a decree of court the guardianship may be ended when the ward seems to be placed in safe surroundings.

Discrimination. — In each institution for juveniles there should be classification according to age, sex, and degree of development. But in addition to careful classification there must be individual treatment, and this is impossible in a large group. For this reason the population of each building must not be larger than makes personal knowledge of each inmate practicable.

There should be careful and periodical examination of each person by physicians and teachers to discover those physical and psychical traits which call for particular methods of directing labor, diet, education, and discipline.

Reformatories or Intermediate Prisons. — Maturity is not reached until the age of twenty five or twenty-six years, and up to that time the formative processes are still going forward. On the average, juvenile offenders are less rapidly developed, physically, mentally, and morally, than persons brought up under more favorable conditions and well nourished, although they are precocious in low tastes and tricks. Hence the period of tutelage may in their case be extended. But young men and women over eighteen years of age are proper subjects of the criminal law, and are, if normal, to be regarded as responsible for their own acts. Hence they must be placed in prisons for social security and for reformation.

Communication with home should ordinarily be encouraged from the first. The refusal to permit communication, as special punishment, during the first months of incarceration, seems to violate this principle of economizing the restorative influence of domestic affections. Discretion must be exercised, on the other hand, to prevent influences which depress and corrupt.

If it happens that young offenders must be placed in the same

prison with older offenders, they should be physically separated by a wall, and their care be intrusted to a special corps of teachers and assistants, who are imbued with the educational purpose.

Prisoners should be released on parole and conditionally. A state agent should secure them employment before they are permitted to go free, and there should be a systematic guardianship of them until their final release. Prisoners' Aid Societies may render an important help in this work of securing places and supervising conduct.

5. Preventive Measures for Normal Children. *Factory laws.* — The premature occupation of children in factory industry is a direct physical and intellectual injury. It has been shown that juvenile offenders at the best are, on the average, defective in physical strength, and that this defect makes regular industry more uncertain and a career of theft more likely. To add to this burden too early confinement in indoor occupations, in the brutalizing surroundings of slaughter houses, and in the poisonous atmosphere of chemical works, is simply to increase the certainty of criminality. All the more advanced states in civilized countries have accepted these principles, and established legal restrictions of factory labor for minors, and provided inspectors to see that the law is enforced.

For physiological reasons nature protects the rapidly growing child by making him at times lazy. Steady strain of labor is for him unnatural; and if he is prematurely driven to the machine he acquires a set of painful and revolting associations with industry from which he never recovers. The task of normal childhood is play and education, and a society which robs its poor children of these is breaking down its laborers and transforming them into criminals.

Mrs. Browning was profoundly right in declaring that children need mothers and play, and

> Learn by such
> Love's holy earnest in a pleasant play,
> And get not over-early solemnized.



Compulsory Education. — It is sometimes pleaded that it is better to employ children in factories than to permit them to run idle in the streets. The argument is sophistical and misleading. No community has a right to permit its children either to work in factories or to become vagrant. All states are able to provide means for the education of children during their growing years; and they should be kept busy in schools, which will not only teach them to read and write, but will also train them for productive industries. Since many juvenile offenders are simply backward and slow or feeble, the public schools can prevent many falls by setting apart special rooms for exceptional children, and devoting to them teachers who know how to help them over the hard places. The day industrial school may be used for special cases not otherwise provided for. Individual treatment must be given to the very dull, the sickly, the wayward.

Manual Training and Trade Schools. — It would be less necessary to fine parents and incarcerate children for vagrancy if the methods of instruction in schools were adapted to the varied wants of the pupils who cannot profit by the conventional methods. Tool work is more interesting than marbles or ball to many growing boys. Children love to make things and watch the growth of living beings. They are active and wish to create; and for these impulses there is little gratification in the homes of the poor or in the ordinary public schools.

Many thousands of children in our cities come to maturity without the possibility of learning a useful trade or art, and they drift into crime almost by necessity. Provision for the teaching of trades in connection with the public schools has become a necessity of our industrial civilization.

Dependent Children.— A complete system of care for dependent children, as already outlined in Part II, would go far to diminish the necessity for resorting to lawless acts to secure the means of existence and enjoyment; and such a system must be regarded as one of the most promising means of preventing crime.

Legal provision should be made in each state for removing children from parents who are unfit to educate them. Where children alone are concerned it is better to employ the civil courts. But criminal courts should deal with parents who are convicted of crime involving the interests of their children; and even when children are taken from vicious parents, these latter should be held in bonds to pay for their care as far as they are able.

In a plea for improved reform schools a great newspaper said: "As we turn from the impressionable boys at the schools to the hardened old offenders at jails and prisons the lesson becomes intensified. The majority of these adult criminals are the *product of the demoralizing surroundings of their youth.* If an illustration were needed the environment would be easy to find in any great city. . . . It is thrust forward upon many of the main lines of travel, from which there are suggestions of innumerable blocks of filth, brutality, and squalor. The low saloon is always much in evidence in such neighborhoods, and among its frequenters are not only swinish men, who are equally offensive to sight and smell and hearing, but slatternly, frowsy, red-faced women and the wretched, unkempt brood of children in whose lives there is not a single refining influence, while there is every appeal to their brutish instincts."

It is well to build and improve reform schools; but they come too late. It is more important to purify the original fountain than to sweeten or salt one of its numerous streams. The real logic of the illustration leads not merely to arrest of a bad boy here and there, and his incarceration in an industrial school, but in reforming and remaking the surroundings of the low men and women, and banishing, as any great city can if it will, "the blocks of filth, brutality, and squalor." The argument of these pathetic facts drives us to establish more settlements, centres of organized personal and charitable service; better schools; decent habitations; inspection of drains and closets; religious labor of genial, educated, devoted, and tactful workers; and all the agencies for transforming life inside and outside. Compared



with these thoroughgoing and adequate enterprises it is a petty play and ghastly mockery to snatch an occasional wayward child out of this seething, swarming, defiling environment of evil and give him exceptional treatment in public institutions. If youths return "reformed" from the reform school, even with the best intentions, and are plunged in this moral mud bath, they simply turn up again in the intermediate prison and the penitentiary.

6. Prevention of Prostitution. — The following recommendations were made by the International Prison Congress of 1895, and may be considered as having the highest authority of expert opinion.

Abduction by fraud or allurement for prostitution, the employment of such means to constrain even one who has reached majority to lead a life of prostitution, ought to be severely repressed, with an increase of penalty in case of repetition of the offence.

It was recommended that a conference of delegates of different governments be called to take international measures against the abduction of girls.

To restrict the prostitution of minors, it was urged that the age at which seduction should be considered criminal, the "age of consent," should be raised to fifteen years; and that the states should provide an adequate number of reform schools, asylums, refuges, and similar establishments for the care and treatment of wayward girls.

Recognizing the influence of religious education upon public morality, it is necessary to consider the important place which should always be accorded to it.

Every minor of either sex, less than eighteen years of age, found in a state of habitual prostitution, should be conducted, after a preliminary examination, before a court which, according to circumstances, shall commit the minor to his or her parents, or to some house of refuge, education, or reformation; or to some honorable family, until the age of civil majority.

International coöperation in the protection of endangered

children was recommended, on the ground that the schemes of procurers are international.

7. Among the methods already mentioned in connection with the care of children in crowded parts of cities, and as having direct and indirect value in preventing juvenile delinquency, may be suggested, the vacation schools, the multiplication of public playgrounds, and public baths. Bathing diminishes the irritability which incites to passionate outbursts in hot weather. Boys are tempted to act indecently, and expose themselves to arrest, by bathing in forbidden public places, because the city provides no means of satisfying the normal craving for a plunge in cool water and swimming in that refreshing element. It is far better to remove the temptation than to increase the rigor of the penalty.

8. Coöperation of Private and Church Agencies with the State. — Here may be mentioned, without elaboration, the importance of the modern methods of the "institutional" church; the multiplication of agencies of the church in influencing the character and conduct of the population of neglected quarters of cities; the personal labors of genial and spiritual workers in the homes of the poor; the placing of dependent and neglected children in good homes; the clubs and friendly services of the residents of settlements; the visitors of associated charities; the noble corps of kindergarten teachers; and coöperation with probation officers and agents of societies for aiding discharged prisoners and their families.

The state should encourage private institutions and societies, and in no way hamper them by law or by official interference; and frequently the state can obtain the necessary personal and affectionate watchcare needed by wayward wards in no other way.

No public body should ever subsidize a private charity.

No child should be deprived of liberty and confined in a private or sectarian institution without appearing before a proper court and being declared delinquent or abandoned. The record of the court should show the history and disposition of each case.



The court should have the right, if it thinks best for the child and society, to send it to a public, rather than to a private institution.

It is necessary to require of sectarian and private institutions all that is required of public establishments, and to oblige those which place out youth to maintain the state standard of supervising and selecting homes.

The state must reserve the right of visitation and inspection, at any time, by special agents of its own, in a conciliatory and courteous spirit, with the sole object of guarding the interests of abandoned children and young delinquents.

9. Education of the Public in Criminal Sociology. — The ignorance and prejudice of the public interferes with successful prison management and with other parts of the treatment of criminals. Under the best system of prison labor which can be devised, some particular interest may be touched, and the boycott or adverse legislation may make rational and productive industry impossible. The labors of prison societies for aiding discharged prisoners would be greatly facilitated if the public understood more clearly the difference between habitual and occasional criminals. The voluntary visitation of prisoners, under proper regulations, may be made valuable and helpful to reformation, but only on condition that the visitors are not only pious and sensible and sympathetic, but are also acquainted with the characteristics of criminals and the principles of prison management and the elements of criminal law. Preventive work must be carried on chiefly by voluntary effort and enterprise, and the necessity and method must be learned by a study of the nature of the criminal and the causes of crime, as well as of the results of the world's experience.

Methods of educating the Public in Criminal Sociology. — The ministers of different denominations should every year devote a sermon on "Prison Sunday," the fourth Sunday of October, to give inspiration and information in regard to reformatory and preventive work. It is easy to find Biblical texts. But in order that ministers may be led to think of this subject and be pre-

pared to speak intelligently, each theological school should provide at least a course of lectures on charitology and criminal sociology, as well as on related practical subjects. It is encouraging to note the remarkable progress made in this direction during the past few years.

Editors of newspapers and magazines should give support to these efforts to instruct the people by employing trained persons to write careful articles on the subject, especially when some event in criminal affairs has attracted general notice.

The state and national conferences which regularly discuss these subjects deserve the support of all social leaders of thought and action.

The societies for aiding discharged prisoners and for preventive work among children and youth may, in the very act of winning members and support, educate the public in relation to the entire subject of punishment and reformation.



SURVEY AND OUTLOOK.

In order that we may not lose the thread of unity in the details of problem and method, we need to set before us afresh the end of all social action. The purpose which should govern the establishment and maintenance of social institutions must be the well being of all the members of the community.

Professor T. H. Green has summarized the ethical ideal of human association in this passage: —

"Does this or that law or usage, this or that course of action — directly or indirectly, positively or as a preventive of the opposite — contribute to the better being of society, as measured by the more general establishment of conditions favorable to the attainment of the recognized virtues or excellencies, by the more general attainment of those excellencies in some degree, or by their attainment on the part of some persons in higher degree, without detraction from the opportunities of others?" ("Prolegomena to Ethics"[1]).

Another and later statement is more concrete and comprehensive: "Human association is a continuous process of realizing a larger aggregate and better proportions of the health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, and righteous desires" (A. W. Small, "American Journal of Sociology," January, 1901, p. 509).

The forms of social organization which we have been considering are parts of a whole, must find their place and unity in that whole, and must be judged, favorably or unfavorably, according as they contribute to this common good.[2]

[1] Cf. A. Comte, "Positive Philosophy," II, 40.

[2] In this survey some expressions are repeated from the author's address found in the "Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction," 1899, pp. 1 ff.

Assuming that we must long deal with a certain element of dependent persons, — though a diminishing number, let us hope, — what must we seek? (1) We must guarantee our altruism, that fine and delicate sentiment, ornament of humanity, flower of our ethical development, fruit of our religion. We cannot sacrifice social sympathy, tenderness, acute sensibility to suffering. We must not even think of going back to that savage and brutal state of heart in which our ancestors lived, in which children could beat out the brains of toothless parents, in which fathers and mothers could without a pang expose to vultures their deformed and feeble babes. Nor can we return to that stage of culture where society can pursue a policy of torture and extermination against criminals. (2) But, on the other hand, we cannot permit the cost and burden of defect to oppress our culture without an effort to reduce the load. The wealth which goes to prisons, insane asylums, and almshouses is needed for higher ends. (3) We must resist, by all available means, the deterioration of the common stock, the corruption of blood, the curses of heredity. It must be included in our plan that more children will be born with large brains, sound nerves, good digestive organs, and love of independent struggle. We wish the parasitic strain, the neuropathic taint, the consumptive tendency, the foul disease, to die out. These are social ends, and it is the duty of philanthropists to include them in every programme.

The community has put forth its efforts to advance the common welfare in relation to the groups of dependents and delinquents in three directions: education, protective restraint, and social selection by humane elimination.

When any members of society have, even temporarily, become dependent, dangerous, or hostile, and have become incapable of using freedom without injury to others and themselves, the community puts forth its hand to restrain, to guide, to eliminate. If the person gives promise of capacity to regain entire freedom through instruction and training, then a purely educative policy



is demanded by the situation. The normal child is placed in an ordinary home. The sick are cured in a hospital. The reformed convict is restored to his place in society.

If the person is permanently helpless and requires nursing, he is provided with an asylum, and surrounded with all the educational facilities which he is capable of using. He remains a member of society, though feeble-minded, and is helped to live his own best life, even if it is unwise to give him liberty to go where he will.

In order that society may not have to bear the hereditary burden of imperfect offspring, the same agencies and means which provide restraint and humane provisions for developing limited capacity become means of elimination. The school for the feeble-minded grows into a custodial asylum for adults, and becomes the dyke against further invasion of an undesirable family stock.

The Spirit and Institutions of Religion. — "We may boldly assert that there never was a nation remarkable for its religiousness and morality which declined so long as it preserved these highest of all goods, but that no nation outlived their possession. . . . And there, too, is Christianity, whose means of grace are at hand for every one at all times, for his complete moral regeneration" (Roscher, "Political Economy," II, 387, 389).

These words of a distinguished economist indicate the relation of religion to the means of mitigating and removing the related curses of pauperism and crime. Physical and political conditions must be changed in order to diminish psychical defect and moral depravity, but even to change outward conditions society must be moved by inner sympathies and faith.

The Church of Christ is the chief organ of the Kingdom of God, that ideal state of society in which all men know and voluntarily obey the law of benevolence and justice, without external constraint and coercion. And while no historical church, local or national, has in any age fulfilled its ideal purpose, no other social organization has even approached it in

efficiency, breadth, and spiritual exaltation. It is not necessary to depreciate any auxiliary social organ to bring honor to this; and it is not wise or honest to ignore the follies and the wrongs committed in the name of religion by hypocrites and fanatics. The value of the normal service of the church will be estimated very much according to the view held of the teachings for which it stands. To those who regard all religion as a transitory superstition or unverifiable "metaphysics," all worship and religious teaching must seem to be so much waste of time and wealth which ought to be turned to social account. This is not the place to introduce a treatise on apologetics, an argument for theism and Christianity; and there are many able books in that field which present all that can be said in evidence to reason. There are some who have no personal care for the religious truths and hopes of the church, who yet value it for its services in relation to charity, education, and social progress. They are willing to give, sometimes very cheerfully, their financial aid because of these services.

Believers in Christianity will continue to hold, what is here taught, that the spiritual contents of this faith are, in themselves, the supreme good of mankind, and it will be generally acknowledged that a social organization for the propagation of spiritual truth is reasonable and necessary.

But the very fact that the religious life has brought together powerful social organizations implies corresponding responsibilities. Power means duty, and duty is determined for the church by its creed of love and by the needs of the world in which it is planted. It is not conceivable that a church can continue to exist with such a creed and not feel under obligations to use all practicable means of diminishing the evils connected with pauperism, misery, and crime. The unrest of conscience, the sense of glaring inconsistency between creed and deed, and the pressure of educated public opinion, force the church to take hold of such social problems.

Many persons outside of the churches, and many bearing the

name of Jew, vie with professors of Christianity in the rivalry of generosity and sincere devotion to humanity, and manifest essentially the same disposition of heart and life.

That the churches themselves have become conscious of the necessity of helping men physically in order to bring them into the Kingdom of God is shown by the universal modern movement of living Christian societies toward philanthropic work. No man ever became a leader in the church who had a stronger faith in mere preaching than C. H. Spurgeon, and yet his appreciation of the meaning of the Bible made his church the centre of a system of charities. R. A. Woods says of the English churches: "There is probably not a single church of the Establishment in any working-class district in London but that has definitely abandoned the plan which makes a church merely an association of people for the culture and spread of the religious life." It would be strange if the professed followers of Him who healed disease and fed the hungry should regard the temporal needs of the depressed members of society as beneath the notice of religion.

The service of mere relief of physical wants is a relatively small part of the future social work of the church. In modern nations the state has taken over much of this relief work, and the church is a distributer of only a part of the total alms of a community. Organized charities and state supervision are even needed to prevent abuses of ecclesiastical charity. As wealth becomes more diffused and the economic condition of workingmen further improves, church patronage will be more and more resented as an insult, rather than hailed as a kindness. The church will be compelled to touch the average man at a higher level of his nature or lose contact with him. The laborer will not ask so much for bread as for books, for leisure to read, for justice, for a hearing and recognition, for a voice in control, for democracy in fellowship. He will abhor "missions" and spurn advances and patronage of the self-styled "superior classes." Thus, while there will long be use for Salvation Army and slum

work, the really great service of the church will lie in personal fellowship on terms of equality in genuine churches where the best talent is employed. And this advance movement is necessary to save the church from extinction and the people from slow, but sure, descent to a godless social state, without a sky and without moral ideals.

The transformation of city life, morally and religiously, waits for wiser methods and greater zeal. There must be a general and carefully planned readjustment of agencies to population. It is essential that there should be in every neighborhood residents who are willing and able to stimulate the higher life and help the people fight their battles for health, sociability, beauty, culture, and faith. This work can never be done wholly at long range nor by hired missionaries. It must be done by men and women who are filled with the religious spirit, who are known in each neighborhood as belonging to it, suffering with its suffering, personally interested in having its alleys clean, its sewerage in order, its atmosphere pure, its politics honest and efficient. Such leaders would find many humble and unlettered folk ready to gather about them and recognize them as friends. People must rise by their own endeavors and must create and maintain their own institutions. If each rich, strong church would plant small colonies of suitable persons, perhaps sometimes without young children, in less favored localities, their influence on the conditions of life would soon be felt. Those who undertook the work would find a mission in life which would give worth and dignity to their existence. Such a career would not require money so much as intelligence and enthusiasm for humanity. The people on the field would generally support their work.

It is the object of the Federation of Churches and Christian Workers to study each quarter of the city in detail, to unify the efforts of the many denominations, to promote courtesy and consideration in making plans and reaching the people by ministries. Side by side with the Federation works the Charity Organization Society, which brings individuals and churches



into personal relations with those who have fallen in the battle of life and need the aid of friendly hands to set them on their feet again.

All these spiritual agencies have a tendency to diminish the number, the influence, and the misery of dependents, defectives, and delinquents. Indeed, when we regard the whole of society and its vast future, we see that these preventive and educational measures are the only ones which give satisfactory promise of bringing these forms of misery to an utter end. How great this hope may be depends largely on one's own temperament, digestion, circumstances, and beliefs. An optimism which looks for the end of pauperism and deformity without patient, earnest, and prolonged effort and sacrifice, is an optimism not justified by history, and it is practically foolish and wicked. But the measure of success already attained in every branch of remedial, preventive, and educational effort of philanthropy gives rational ground for a sober hope, a burning zeal, and a deathless strife with error, pain, disease, and pauperism.

The treatment of these forlorn members of the race is a part of the universal movement of humanity forward. If we regard these classes as the foot, down in the mire, we may so far adopt the analogy and figure as to conclude that if the foot remains fast in the mire the body cannot march on in the journey of progress. May we not partly explain the frequent outbursts of savage traits in refined circles of society, bestial lust and drunkenness, selfish greed, barbaric ostentation, fondness for display, murderous indifference to the suffering of employees, by the near presence of neglected members of the human family? The hovels of neglected paupers furnish the nidus for germs of plague, and in the same hovels are prepared moral temptations for the sons of the elect. The atomistic notion of society, the philosophy of selfishness, which regards each individual as a separate unit with whom we have no relations, is evil and cause of evils. To prevent dependency and diminish the number of defectives society must learn to move together and work all its institutions



of school, family, church, and state in conscious harmony toward a purposed end.

Pessimism and agnosticism deny that we really know that the ground of the world's life is the Ideal One, perfectly holy, just, and good: the Will that wills for us all perfect happiness, beauty, and goodness. But none can deny that we possess the ideal, for the denial itself must restate the ideal. We have traversed the most difficult and rocky regions, the darkest valleys, the most sombre caverns of human experience, the road where faith stumbles. We have analyzed and measured as precisely as we could the saddest elements of human life. And even here, where faith and philosophy alike pass into eclipse, we have discovered facts which point toward the ultimate justification of man's noblest belief. Human beings, once regarded and treated as hopeless idiots, wild and soulless brutes, or demonized outlaws, are now regarded and treated as human brethren, capable of gaining thought, truth, love, beauty, and happiness.

It is faith in the unseen ideal which has given courage and patience to Howard, Wichern, Howe, Mrs. Fry, and other uncanonized saints of the ages. Such men and women, those who struggle in closest grapple with the serpent of evil, are precisely those who have no time or disposition to nurse morbid pessimism. With them the world is ever young and fresh and growing.

It was the strong and devoted Kingsley who sang: —

"Who will say the world is dying?
Who will say our prime is past?
Sparks from heaven, within us lying,
Flash, and will flash to the last.
Fools! who fancy Christ mistaken,
Man a tool to buy and sell;
Earth a failure, God-forsaken,
Ante-room of hell.
Still the race of hero-spirits
Pass the lamp from hand to hand;
Age from age the Word inherits
'Wife and child and fatherland.'



While a slave bewails his fetters;
While an orphan pleads in vain;
While an infant lisps his letters,
Heir of all the age's gain;
While a lip grows ripe for kissing;
While a moan from man is wrung;
Know, by every want and blessing,
That the world is young."

The evolution of the race, the victory over evil, the prospect for the entire disappearance of the defective stock, the hope born of past achievements, indicate that we are moving toward an age when it will be easier to hold unquestioning and unclouded faith in the absolute and eternal truth, love, and beauty of God. All rational ministries of science and art and philanthropy to human welfare are arguments for theism, and the most convincing of all.

We are not here merely to medicate and dress an ever open sore of pauperism, insanity, idiocy, and crime, but to cure it. It is in that faith we began these studies, and with increased faith we close. Dante, the sublime genius of the mediæval ages and Italy's best gift to mankind, passed through Inferno and Purgatory on his way to the effulgent glory of Paradise. "The Divine Comedy" is the story of human progress, and its meaning is: believe, love, act.

Take heart! The waster builds again;
A charmed life old goodness hath.
The tares may perish, but the grain
Is not for death.

God works in all things, all obey
His first propulsion from the night;
Wake thou and watch! the world is gray
With morning light.

Aid the dawning, tongue and pen;
Aid it, hopes of honest men,



Aid it, paper, aid it type;
Aid it, for the hour is ripe;
But our earnest must not slacken
Into play;
Men of thought and men of action,
Clear the way!



APPENDIX.

Suggestions to the Student in the Use of the Text.

1. Make an abstract of each section of the chapter, and be prepared to state every point in your own language.

2. Read the works and articles cited, so far as they are accessible, and note down: (*a*) any additional facts, arguments, or recommendations; (*b*) any contradictions of the text. Weigh the different views, form your own judgment, and write it out.

3. Visit institutions of charity and correction in your own community, and make careful drawings, plans, and descriptions. Use the "*schedule*" printed herewith (p. 351).

4. Cut out of newspapers, and keep together in envelopes, drawers, scrap books, or other devices, all illustrative items. Seek to add to your direct and personal observation and experience by all available means.

Abbreviations. — Some of the books to which reference is most frequently made are indicated by the following abbreviations: —

N.C.C. Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.
N.P.A. Proceedings of the National Prison Association.
I.C.C. Proceedings of the International Congress of Charities, Correction, and Philanthropy, Chicago, 1893; published by Johns Hopkins University.
A. Jour. Soc. American Journal of Sociology.
Char. Rev. Charities Review.

The list of books, pamphlets, and articles is intended to be select rather than exhaustive; and select in relation to the needs of beginners, and of college and university students who wish to push their studies beyond the materials of the text. The bibliography is not intended for specialists. Any person who has mastered the text and the literature cited will be able to help himself.

German, French, and Italian works are occasionally named, since familiarity with the European languages has become quite common.

For a fairly full list of books and articles see *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1898, p. 561 (Mrs. Fairchild and Miss Lord); H. B. Adams, "Notes on the Literature of Charities," Baltimore, 1889; Johns Hopkins University Studies; A. MacDonald, "Abnormal Man and Criminology."

GENERAL WORKS.

S. A. Barnett: Practical Socialism, 2d ed. 1894.
W. G. Blaikie: Leaders in Modern Philanthropy.
H. M. Boies: Prisoners and Paupers. 1893.
Charles Booth: Life and Labour of the People in London.
B. Bosanquet: Aspects of the Social Problem. 1895.
Mrs. B. Bosanquet: Rich and Poor. 1897.
C L. Brace: Life, chiefly told in his own letters. 1894.
International Congress of Charities, Correction, and Philanthropy. Johns Hopkins Press.
Mrs. F. A. Goodale, ed.: Literature of Philanthropy. 1893.
Hull House Papers and Maps. 1895.
E. Kelly: Evolution and Effort.
Margaret Lonsdale: Sister Dora. 1892.
W. H. Tolman: New York City Report to Mayor on Public Baths and Public Comfort Stations. 1897.
Louis Paulian: The Beggars of Paris. 1897.
H. Fawcett: Pauperism (1871).



SCHEDULE OF INFORMATION FOR INSTITUTIONS.

This form may be used for poorhouses, jails, prisons, reform schools, and all other institutions where there is a community of persons under care.

ARRANGED BY DR. F. W. AYRES AND THE AUTHOR.

1. NAME (legal)_____
2. LOCATION_____
3. DATE OF FOUNDING_____Date of incorporation_____
4. DESCRIPTION OF BUILDING_____

Arrangement_____

Average space per inmate_____

Surroundings (grounds of institution, neighborhood, etc.)_____

Sanitation (water, sewerage, air, light, heat, etc.)_____

5. BOARD OF CONTROL. (Title, number, and names of members)_____

By whom appointed or elected_____When ?_____

For what term_____

Name of superintendent (official title also)_____

Names of important assistants_____

By whom appointed. Superintendent_____Assistants_____

Number of paid employes_____How

appointed _____How discharged_____

6. FINANCE.

Income_____Endowment_____Property_____Contributions (amount, how secured — by solicitors, letters, entertainments, etc.)

From whom (classes of persons)_____

What amount and per cent from beneficiaries_____

Aid from other institutions (societies, churches, city, county, state)_____

Is an officer furnished ?_____

Expenses — for last year (dates)_____

Salaries (all working force)_____

Supplies (food, fuel, light, heat, etc.)_____

Other expenses (rent, interest, cost of securing and maintaining plant, improvements, etc.)_____

How do expenses for the past year compare with previous years ?_____

CONTROL OF FINANCE.

Custodianship_____

Who decides upon expenditures_____

What provision for auditing accounts_____

7. PURPOSE OF THE INSTITUTION_____

8. ADMISSION OF BENEFICIARIES.

Qualifications (sex, age, religion, nationality, character, references, condition, any payment required)_____

Exceptions (persons above possibly excluded)_____

Applications_____ To whom ?_____

By whom ?_____ When made ?_____

Who decides upon applications ? (Names and addresses)_____

Limit of residence of persons admitted_____

Mode of dismissal_____ Return_____

9. LIFE OF BENEFICIARIES.

Educational activities_____

Employment (required, optional or possible)_____

Does worker receive any direct benefit or payment_____

_____ At what rate_____



Recreation----------

Classification (as to different treatment, separation of the sexes, ages, differences of character and needs)----------

10. EXTENT OF WORK IN PAST YEAR. From----------

---------- to----------

Capacity of institution----------

Number brought over from preceding year----------

Received (by departments)----------

Discharged (by departments)----------

Died (in each department)----------

Average daily attendance----------

11. METHODS OF KEEPING RECORD OF INMATES.

Separate cards for each---------- Ledger accounts----------

Items of information recorded----------

12. ADMISSION AND INFORMATION OF THE PUBLIC.

Time and rules for the admission of visitors----------

Reports and publications----------

Who, if any one, officially inspects the institution----------

This form is too minute for ordinary use; but it is easy to omit those points where information is not obtainable.



Appendix.

Part I, Theoretical: the Description, Classification, and Explanation of the Phenomena of Dependence.

Chapter I. The Problem Stated.

References. — Social Pathology.

Small and Vincent: Introduction to the Study of Society, Book IV, pp. 235–302.

Schäffle: Bau und Leben, 4 vol. ed.; I, 256–264, 506, 823, etc.

F. H. Giddings: Theory of Sociology; Principles of Sociology, pp. 121–130; N. C. C., 1895, p. 110.

A. G. Warner: American Charities, pp. 22–59.

Ratzenhofer: Die Sociologische Erkenntniss, p. 260 ff.

Webb: Problems of Modern Industry, p. 166.

Philanthropy and Social Progress. T. Y. Crowell & Co. H. C. Adams (ed.).

Charles Booth's method of classification of population, in Life and Labour of the People in London. Cf. R. Mayo-Smith: Statistics and Economics, pp. 451–552.

A. The lowest class — occasional laborers, loafers, and semi-criminals.

B. The very poor — casual labor, hand-to-hand existence, chronic want.

C and *D.* The poor — including alike those whose earnings are small, because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work, though regular, is ill-paid.

E and *F.* The regularly employed and fairly paid working class of all grades.

G and *H.* Lower and upper middle class and all above this level.

Mr. Booth estimates, on the basis of his investigations, the following numbers and ratios: —

	Number.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
A (lowest)	37,610	0.9	
B (very poor)	316,834	7.5	In poverty, 30.7
C and *D* (poor)	938,293	22.3	
E and *F* (working class, comfortable)	2,166,503	51.5	In comfort, 69.3
G and *H* (middle class, and above)	749,930	17.8	
	4,209,170	100.0	100.0
Inmates of Institutions	99,830		
	4,309,000		

It must not be assumed that the same ratios for these classes will be found in other cities, and in communities having different conditions. The table is given as an interesting illustration of classification, and of a method which may be used elsewhere.



Chapter II. The Evolution of Inferior and Antisocial Elements.

References; many of these also useful in Chapters III and IV.

F. H. Giddings: Theory of Sociology, p. 54; N. C. C., 1895, p. 110.
Ammon: Die Natürliche Auslese beim Menschen.
A. G. Warner: American Charities, Ch. V.
Closson: Jour. Pol. Ec., Sept., 1896; Quar. Jour. Ec., Jan., 1896.
Otto Seeck: Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt. Berlin, 1895.
Kidd: Social Evolution, pp. 190–191.
Con. Rev., Feb., 1893; March, 1893; May, 1893.
Forum, May, 1891.
F. Scholz: Die Charakterfehler des Kindes, 1891.
Morel: Traité des Dégénérescences physiques. Paris, 1857.
Moreau: La Psychologie Morbide, 1859.
Dejerim: L'Hérédité dans les maladies du systeme nerveux, 1886.
Ribot: L'Hérédité, 1873.
Sanson: L'Hérédité normale et pathologique, 1893.
A. H. Bradford: Heredity and Christian Problems.
T. Delage: Hérédité.
Weismann: Essays on Heredity; Das Keimplasma, 1892.
Sully: The Human Mind, I, 138.
S. A. K. Strahan: Marriage and Disease, Ch. III.
J. Arthur Thomson: The History and Theory of Heredity.
G. J. Romanes: An Examination of Weismannism.
D. G. Ritchie: Darwinism and Politics.
W. Bagehot: Physics and Politics.
Westermarck: History of Human Marriage, p. 334.
J. B. Haycraft: Natürliche Auslese und Rassenverbesserung, p. 26.
C. Féré: Dégénérescence et Criminalité; La Famille Neuropathique, 1894.
F. Galton: Hereditary Genius; Inquiries into Human Faculty.
Mercier: Insanity.
Bell: Memoir upon the Formation of a Deaf Variety of the Human Race.
R. Dugdale: The Jukes; N. C. C., 1877, pp. 81–95.
S. G. Howe: Causes of Idiocy in Massachusetts (1848).
O. McCulloch: The Tribe of Ishmael, N. C. C., 1888, p. 104.
Wright: N. C. C., 1881, p. 435.
C. Booth: Pauperism.
A. MacDonald: Abnormal Man.
McKim: Heredity and Progress (extremely radical).
M. Nordau: Degeneration (to be used with caution).
W. Hirsch: Genius and Degeneration.
H. Drummond: The Natural Law in the Spiritual World (on Parasitism).



Chapter III. Explanation by Study of the Nature of Dependents.

References. — C. Booth: Labour and Life, I, ch. v.
10th Rep. N. Y. State Board of Charities.
F. H. Wines; N. C. C., 1886, p. 207.
Mayo-Smith: Statistics and Sociology, pp. 210–235.
A. G. Warner: American Charities, p. 27.
Char. Rev., June, 1894, p. 383.
Koren: Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem (1899).
V. Böhmert: Armenwesen in 77 deutschen Städten, I, 21, 25.
J. S. Mill: Logic, Bk. III, ch. 8; Bk. VI, ch. vi.
S. N. Patten: Economic Basis of Prohibition, An. Am. Acad., II, 59.
N. Kerr: Inebriety.
Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition.
Encyclopedia of Social Reforms.
N. C. C. Rep. of Com. on C. O. S., 1899.

Licentiousness. — S. Amos: Prohibition, Regulation, and Licensing of Vice.
W. Acton: Prostitution Considered.
A. Leffingwell: Illegitimacy.
Earl Barnes: Studies in Education, 1896–1897, p. 301.

Lack of Training. — N. P. Gilman: Socialism and the American Spirit, ch. v.
N. C. C., 1895, pp. 195–203 (Richards).
Poor in Great Cities, pp. 275–299.

Chapter IV. Inheritance, Education, and External Conditions.

References. — *Evils of defective housing and sanitation.*
E. R. L. Gould: Housing of the Working People.
J. A. Riis: How the Other Half Lives.
J. A. Riis: A Ten Years' War.
Weber: Growth of Cities.
Jahrbücher für Nat. u. Stat., March, 1892, p. 431.
E. Münsterberg: Die Armenpflege, p. 18.
N. Y. Tenement House Reports.
N. C. C., 1885, p. 365 (A. T. White).
M. Talbot: Am. Jour. Soc., July, 1896 (on Sanitation).
W. H. Welch: Char. Rev., Feb., 1893.
Travers Twiss: Tests of a Thriving Population.
H. C. Adams: The Slaughter of Railway Employees, Forum, June, 1892.
Ill. Rep. Board Pub. Char., 1872, p. 181 ff.
N. C. C., 1886, p. 207 ff. (F. H. Wines). N. C. C., 1891, p. 222 (Wright).

Economic conditions. — F. A. Walker: Wages, ch. ii.
J. Mavor: An. Am. Acad., Vol. IV, July, 1893.



Sweating. — L. A. Banks: White Slaves (1892). J. A. Hobson: Problems of Poverty. Hull House Papers, pp. 27–45 (Mrs. Kelley). U. S. Labor Bulletin, No. 4, May, 1896 (H. White).

Immigration. — R. Mayo-Smith: Emigration and Immigration.
N. C. C., 1876 (M. B. Anderson), 1887, 1891, 1893, and 1895 (Dr. Hoyt).
Mass. Rep. Board Charities, 1900, p. 110.
Ill. Rep. Board Pub. Char., 1898, p. 52.
Char. Rev., Jan. 1894 (J. B. Weber); June (Ward).

Statistical enumeration of causes of poverty and distress.

A committee of the National Conference reported in 1899 favoring a new classification of causes, as follows: —

(1) Causes of distress within the family. — Disregard of family ties (desertion, neglect to contribute by children, by brothers, sisters, or other natural supporters); intemperance (abuse of stimulants or narcotics); licentiousness; dishonesty or other moral defects; lack of thrift, industry, or judgment; physical or mental defects (blind, deaf, crippled from birth, insane, feeble-minded, etc.); sickness, accident, or death.

(2) Causes of distress outside the family. — Lack of employment, not due to employee (changes in trade, introduction of machinery, hard times, strike or lockout, partial or complete shutdown, removal of industry, etc.); defective sanitation; degrading surroundings; unwise philanthropy; public calamity.

(3) Unclassified.

Statistical blanks corresponding to these methods of classification can be obtained from the Charity Organization Society of New York. The class of cases studied from these records are very different from those enumerated in the United States census figures, which deal chiefly with public paupers in almshouses; although some of the States secure approximately correct returns from the local outdoor relief agencies, with scant information as to causes.

The table of the C. O. S. societies presents a summary of the opinions of the local workers in regard to the principal cause of distress in the cases which came under their observation.

TABLE PREPARED BY PROFESSOR S. M. LINDSAY (N. C. C., 1899, p. 370), SHOWING CAUSES OF POVERTY: C. O. S. RECORDS.

			City.	Baltimore. New York. New Haven. Boston.	New York.							
			Year.	*	1889.	1891. **	1892.	1893. **	1895-96.	1896-97.	1897-98.	1895-98.†
Indicating Misconduct.			Drink	15.28	11.90	10.70	13.65	12.20	13.43	12.14	12.00	12.56
			Immorality	.44	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Shiftlessness and inefficiency	7.51	6.90	7.22	6.54	7.00	4.93	5.25	5.94	5.36
			Crime and dishonesty	.68	—	1.41	.76	.60	.58	.45	.54	.53
			Roving disposition	1.19	—	3.26	2.14	1.40	.79	.23	.30	.45
Indicating Misfortune.	Lack of Normal Support.		Imprisonment of breadwinner	.76	1.00	.57	.50	.40	1.00	.70	1.20	.97
			Orphans and abandoned children	.34	—	.14	.23	.17	.10	.05	—	.05
			Neglect by relatives	.91	—	.50	.57	.40	.63	.05	.12	.28
			No male support	4.30	6.00	7.22	4.06	5.70	3.66	4.26	6.19	4.65
	Matters of Employment.		Lack of employment	23.16	32.80	28.96	30.76	34.20	37.20	37.67	31.65	35.59
			Insufficient employment	6.51	—	6.09	6.07	8.00	10.56	14.35	14.47	13.04
			Poorly paid employment	1.81	10.50	2.48	2.68	2.50	1.27	.99	.84	1.00
			Unhealthy and dangerous employment	.09	—	—	.08	—	.05	—	.12	.05
			Total — Employment	31.57	53.30	37.53	39.59	44.70	49.08	53.01	47.08	49.68
	Matters of Personal Capacity.		Ignorance of English	.41	—	.35	.46	.30	.37	.35	.06	.26
			Accident	2.86	1.20	3.33	3.29	2.60	1.75	2.04	2.28	2.01
			Sickness or death in family	22.27	17.70	18.48	19.05	17.00	18.41	14.66	17.11	16.78
			Physical defects	3.69	3.50	2.76	3.21	1.70	1.38	1.28	2.00	1.55
			Insanity	.85	1.00	.71	.61	.40	.69	.58	.96	.74
			Old age	4.00	—	3.33	3.29	3.40	2.23	3.97	3.54	3.21
Not Classified.			Large family	.73	—	.57	.53	.50	.32	.35	—	.22
			Nature of abode	.18	—	.50	.37	.27	.16	.18	—	.11
			Other or unknown	2.00	2.40	.99	1.11	.50	.42	.35	.66	.45
Total number of cases				7225	1700	1412	2614	1850	1884	1712	1666	5262



City.			Baltimore. New York. New Haven. Boston.	Boston.					Baltimore.						
Year.			*	1889-90.††	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.	1890-93.†	1888-89.‡	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.	1893-94.	1894-95.
Indicating Misconduct.		Drink	15.28	23.00	19.30	22.00	23.00	21.43	7.90	9.56	9.00	7.00	6.00	6.00	5.00
		Immorality	.44	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Shiftlessness and inefficiency	7.51	6.00	7.60	7.00	6.40	6.97	7.60	10.30	14.00	12.00	9.00	8.00	5.40
		Crime and dishonesty	.68	—	1.50	1.40	1.00	1.32	—	—	.70	1.00	1.00	.50	.30
		Roving disposition	1.19	—	.60	1.00	1.00	.82	—	—	1.50	1.50	2.00	2.00	1.20
Indicating Misfortune.	Lack of Normal Support.	Imprisonment of breadwinner	.76	2.00	1.70	2.00	1.00	1.57	.40	.50	—	.50	.50	.40	.25
		Orphans and abandoned children	.34	—	.50	1.00	.30	.67	—	—	.30	1.50	1.00	.60	.40
		Neglect by relatives	.91	—	.80	1.00	2.30	1.42	—	—	2.00	1.50	2.50	1.10	1.00
		No male support	4.30	5.50	7.20	5.00	3.30	5.05	6.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	3.60	4.00
	Matters of Employment.	Lack of employment	23.16	19.50	14.10	14.10	14.00	14.02	33.40	30.20	13.00	12.00	22.00	37.50	36.00
		Insufficient employment	6.51	3.50	6.00	5.00	4.00	5.11	—	—	8.00	9.00	7.50	10.00	11.00
		Poorly paid employment	1.81	—	.50	1.00	1.00	.85	8.90	10.10	6.00	4.00	3.00	4.60	4.25
		Unhealthy and dangerous employment	.09	—	.60	.10	.10	.06	—	—	.40	.25	.50	.30	—
		Total — Employment	31.57	23.00	21.20	20.20	19.10	20.04	42.30	40.30	27.40	25.25	33.00	52.40	51.25
	Matters of Personal Capacity.	Ignorance of English	.41	—	.70	1.00	.40	.67	—	—	.30	—	.50	—	.25
		Accident	2.86	1.50	3.60	2.30	3.00	2.96	3.20	1.30	4.00	4.00	5.00	2.80	3.20
		Sickness or death in family	22.27	26.50	23.40	25.00	28.00	25.40	22.70	25.30	19.50	21.00	18.00	13.75	18.00
		Physical defects	3.69	1.50	2.50	2.30	3.00	2.55	6.20	5.40	5.00	7.00	6.50	3.60	4.10
		Insanity	.85	1.00	.70	1.00	2.00	1.05	.70	.60	.60	1.00	1.00	.40	.25
		Old age	4.00	—	4.00	4.00	3.40	3.87	—	—	5.00	7.00	4.50	3.10	3.20
Not Classified.		Large family	.73	—	.60	.40	.40	.45	—	—	4.50	2.00	2.00	.80	.60
		Nature of abode	.12	—	.30	—	—	.09	—	—	.70	.50	1.00	.20	1.00
		Other or unknown	2.00	10.00	4.50	3.40	2.40	3.61	3.00	2.80	1.50	2.25	1.50	.75	.60
Total number of cases			7225	902	985	1092	1043	3120	712	724	774	773	811	1220	1377

* Probably 1891-92. Taken from Table VIII in Warner's "American Charities." ** Six months. † Average for three years.
†† Fiscal year begins June 1st. ‡ Fiscal year begins Nov. 1st.



Part II. Social Organization for the Relief and Care of Dependents.

Chapter I. Directive Aims.

References. — N. C. C., 1899, C. R. Henderson, President's Address.

Grounds of community care. — Eden: State of the Poor, I, 413.
Lamond: The Scottish Poor Laws.
Cohn: Arbeit und Armuth.
F. Wayland: Moral Science; Political Economy, p. 120.
E. Münsterberg: Armengesetzgebung, pp. 68, 232, 271.
N. C. C., 1875, p. 30 (Dr. N. Allen).
N. C. C., 1883, p. 429 (Dr. Walk).
N. C. C., 1875, p. 22 (F. H. Wines); 1887, p. 271.
N. C. C., 1895, p. 33.
Ill. Rep. Pub. Char., 1874, p. 37–41.
Nicholls: History English Poor Law, I, 2.
Montesquieu: Spirit of the Laws, Bk. XXIII, ch. 29.
Menger: Right to the Whole Produce of Labor, p. 13.
E. M. Leonard: The Early History of English Poor Relief (1900).

Chapter II. The Public Budget and Poor Relief.

References. — H. C. Adams: The Science of Finance, pp. 59–61.
A. Wagner: Grundriss zu Vorlesungen über Finanzwissenschaft (list).
C. F. Bastable: Public Finance, 2d ed., pp. 81–86, 119.
J. E. F. Rogers: Economic Interpretation of History, p. 487.

Public subsidies to private institutions. — N. C. C., 1881, p. 173 (Mrs. Lowell); 1883, p. 101; 1886, p. 161; 1875, p. 18.

Subsidies from Public Funds to Private Charities.

A good illustration of the evil tendency of this method is found in the District of Columbia. Between 1880 and 1892 under this policy the public institutions increased in number from 7 to 8, while private institutions increased from 8 to 28, under the stimulus of the subsidy. The public appropriations for construction and maintenance in the 12 years, were for public institutions $1,351,256.65, and for private, $1,141,752.53; the total appropriations in 1892 for maintenance being $237,105.50 (Warner).

In the Report on Charitable and Reformatory Institutions of the District of Columbia for 1900, the total estimates were $651,890, a large part of which still



goes to private institutions over which public control is difficult or impossible; and the board declares that it "is convinced that the history of the charities of the District of Columbia clearly demonstrates that the policy of granting public subsidies to private charities, heretofore pursued, has been unwise. The almost universal experience has been that a charity has been organized by private parties, and for a time supported from private sources, but soon a small appropriation has been asked, and an increase has been demanded from year to year until the point is reached where the charity is practically dependent upon the public treasury for support, while at the same time its management remained entirely in the hands of a private corporation."

Chapter III. Outdoor Legal Relief.

References. — Reports of State Boards of Charities in Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, etc.

E. T. Devine: Char. Rev., May, 1900.
Char. Rev., Vol. VIII, pp. 129, 186; Vol. IX, pp. 22, 65.
A. G. Warner: American Charities, p. 162.
Hartford Report, Special Committee on Outdoor Alms.
N. C. C., 1894 (C. R. Henderson); p. 86 (Wilcox).
N. C. C., 1895, pp. 44–66.
Char. Rev., 1894 (Art. by C. R. Henderson), and 1896.
Int. Cong. Char. and Cor., 1893.
U. S. Bulletin of Labor, January, 1897.
Rep. Legislature of Mass., 1896.
Chance: Better Administration of the Poor Law.
Poor Law Conference Reports (British).
Lamond: Scottish Poor Laws.
N. C. C., 1881, p. 196; Methods of Tenth Census, F. H. Wines; cf. Compendium Tenth Census, II, 166.
N. C. C., 1875, pp. 99–102.
C. A. Ellwood, A. Jour. Soc., November, 1899.
Economic Journal, Vol. II, pp. 186 ff, pp. 369 ff.
T. Rogers: Six Centuries of Work and Wages, ch. 15.

Poor Laws. —

J. Cummings: Poor Laws of Mass. and N. Y.
H. A. Millis: Poor Laws of U. S., A. Jour. Soc. 1898.
N. C. C., 1898 (C. R. Henderson and H. A. Millis).
Summary and Index of Legislation by States: New York State Library Bulletins. Albany.

Statistics of Public Relief.

Outdoor relief in American Cities. — The following figures, collected by the Buffalo Charity Organization Society, shows the tendency to abolish this form of relief and substitute private charity.

	1900.	1897.
New York	None.	None.
Brooklyn	None.	None.
Chicago	$98,363	$136,200
Philadelphia	None.	None.
St. Louis	Trifling.	Trifling.
Boston	$65,030	$69,667
Baltimore	None.	None.
Cleveland	$21,342	$32,128
Buffalo	51,000	108,920
Cincinnati	4,693	5,520
Washington	None.	None.
San Francisco	None.	None.
Detroit	$44,005	$50,545
New Orleans	Trifling.	Trifling.
Pittsburg	$ 7,975	$15,323
Milwaukee	35,502	76,987
Louisville	Coal only.	Coal only.
Minneapolis	$11,485	$23,528
Newark	18,140	20,792
Jersey City	5,295	6,000
Kansas City	None.	None.
	$362,830	$545,610

Reduction in three years, $182,780; 33⅓ per cent.

It is impossible to secure even approximately correct statistics of outdoor relief; and those here given from recent reports have value only as they help to correct the impression, made on uninformed persons, by the treatment of the Census, that there is comparatively little outdoor relief in the United States. They may also serve in a measure to correct exaggerated ideas of the extent of such relief among those who are rather pessimistic in tempera-



ment. Mr. F. B. Sanborn (N. C. C., 1877, pp. 20 ff), quoted Mr. Canning's saying: "I can prove anything by figures, except the truth," and added: —

"Professor Fawcett, some years ago, proved to his own satisfaction, I believe, that pauperism was more common in Philadelphia than in London, simply by doubling the actual number of the indoor poor of Philadelphia, and multiplying the outdoor poor by seven. . . . The fact being that pauperism in London is two or three times as bad as in Philadelphia."

N. C. C., 1881, p. 196; 1885, p. 383; 1886, p. 212 (Wines: Value of Statistics); 1887, p. 79, 83; 1891, p. 222.

Pauperism in the United States: indoor.

Mr. C. D. Wright (Practical Sociology, p. 325) gives the following table, which is confessedly based on imperfect statistics of the Census: —

Sex, Nativity, and Color.	Number of Indoor Paupers.					Ratios to 1,000,000 of Population.				
	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890
Male				35,564	40,741				1,394	1,270
Female . . .				30,639	32,304				1,244	1,057
Native born .	36,916	50,483	53,939	43,236	44,626	1,765	1,849	1,635	994	836
Foreign born .	13,437	32,459	22,798	22,967	28,419	5,986	7,843	4,095	3,438	3,072
White			67,337	60,486	66,578			2,005	1,394	1,211
Colored . . .			9,400	5,717	6,467			1,928	847	847
Total . .	50,353	82,942	76,737	66,203	73,045	2,171	2,638	1,990	1,320	1,166

Mr. Wright says, "It is a matter for congratulation that the computed ratio dropped from a little over one pauper in almshouses to each five hundred of the population in 1850, to a little over one in each thousand in 1890." But how far this is a subject of congratulation and optimism remains uncertain until we know how many have been transferred from almshouses to the rapidly enlarging hospitals and asylums for the insane, feeble-minded, epileptics; and how many are cared for by outdoor relief, whose quantity is unknown to the Census; and how many are cared for by the enormously increased work of private charity and child-saving institutions.



ILLUSTRATIONS FROM RECORDS OF CERTAIN STATES.

Minnesota (*outdoor relief*). — Report (1898) State Board of Corrections and Charities.

Number of families or cases	4,485
Boarded in poorhouse or elsewhere	965
Relief without board	9,014
Medical relief only	901
Total persons	10,870
Number in million inhabitants	6,903

The Bulletin, December, 1900, p. 34, gives for 1900: "The midsummer semiannual pauper census . . . shows that in Minnesota 6676 persons received relief in June, 1900. . . . The midwinter enumeration shows 8722 aided in December, 1899."

Massachusetts. — 21st Annual Report of the State Board of Charity, 1900, gives the following figures, p. xlix, Table VIII: —

Year.	City and Town Poor.			State Poor Partially Supported.	
	Whole Number Fully Supported.	Whole Number Partially Supported.	Net Expenses Reported.	Number.	Cost.
1880	9,196	58,916	$ 1,332,902	14,000	$ 35,000
1890	13,099	45,487	1,805,641	16,491	73,746
1899	17,094	76,252	2,492,928	26,442	154,731

Vagrancy cases in 1880–1881, 154,164; in 1899 there were 207,081. Population of Massachusetts, 1890, was 2,238,943, and in 1900 it was 2,805,346 (12th Census Bulletin, No. 20).

It does not seem possible to give a separate statement of the entire outdoor relief, and to distinguish it from other items.

Massachusetts. — 22d Annual Report of the State Board of Charity, January, 1901.

For 1900:

Cost of full support at almshouses of all paupers	$928,342
Cost of full support at insane hospitals	$995,399
Cost of full support at elsewhere	$513,548
Partial support, cost	$898,498
Partial support, average number relieved	19,192



This item of partial support "covers most cases of temporary support at general hospitals, as well as medical and other relief at home"; outdoor relief is not given separately.

The number of cases of vagrancy was 164,760, and their cost $29,300 (estimated).

New Hampshire. — Report State Board of Charities and Correction, 1900, pp. 34–35.

Outdoor relief, 1899	$248,038.02
County farms, 1899	155,626.96
Total poor relief, 1899	403,665.58
Total poor relief, 1889	287,840.32

New York. — Report State Board of Charities, 1897, p. 739.

Number in the almshouses, Oct. 1, 1896	5,839
Number received during year	12,924
Number born in the almshouses	170
Number supported	18,933
Number temporarily relieved	127,540
Total number supported and relieved	146,473
Amounts expended in almshouses	$789,668.02
Amounts expended for temporary relief	$909,067.15
Total amounts	$1,698,735.17

Indiana. — The Eleventh Report of the Board of State Charities of Indiana, 1900, p. 178, — a valuable discussion of outdoor relief. See article in Am. Jour. Soc., May, 1901, A. Johnson.

In 1895 the amount of outdoor relief given by the overseers of the poor and the medical relief amounted to $630,168.79. The amount for 1900 is $209,956.22, a decrease of $420,212.57, or 66 per cent in six years. Total number of persons receiving aid, 1900, 46,369; in 1896, 71,414. The reduction is due in part to improved financial conditions, but chiefly to a more strict investigation of the applications, and to changes in the laws which require reports from township trustees and make each township responsible for its own outdoor poor. The county poorhouses have not been crowded in consequence of these changes, and their population has actually diminished.

Pennsylvania. — 29th Report of Board of Commissioners of Public Charities, 1898.

Township poor, "indigent persons relieved in boroughs and townships in which almshouses do not exist," $316,169.51. This includes some payments



for indoor relief of the insane and feeble-minded (p. 305). Vagrants, 42,248; 97.52 per cent of whom were males (p. 304). Outdoor relief in almshouse districts, 1898, 37,447. A complete statement cannot be given.

Connecticut. — Report State Board of Charities, 1897–1898, pp. 292 ff.
Population, 850,000, in 1898.
Cost of almshouse support, $234,941.
Cost of poor outside of almshouses, $494,356.
Tax per capita of population for support of poor, $0.977.
Number of almshouse inmates, 2694.
Number of poor outside, 14,581.
Number insane poor not in asylums, 435.

In Indiana: for outdoor relief, 13 cents per capita; for poor asylums, 16 cents per capita. *In Illinois:* for outdoor relief, $760,445.25, 16 cents per capita; for poor asylums, $889,823.27, 18 cents per capita. *In Ohio:* for outdoor relief, $167,782, 4 cents per capita; for poor asylums, $729,858, 18 cents per capita. This estimate is given by Professor David Felmley in the report of the Illinois Board of Public Charities, 1900, p. 380. *Ohio:* Bulletin of Charities and Correction, Vol. 6, No. 4, Dec., 1900.

Statistics of English Relief. — This table, taken from the Journal of Statistical Society, 1892, p. 133 (Mayo-Smith, Statistics and Sociology, p. 229), shows at once the vast number of public dependents in England and the hopeful tendency toward a decrease of legal pauperism.

Year.	Receiving Indoor Relief.		Receiving Outdoor Relief.		Total.	
	Number.	Ratio per 1000.	Number.	Ratio per 1000.	Number.	Ratio per 1000.
1850	123,004	7.0	885,696	50.0	1,008,700	57.4
1860	113,507	5.8	731,126	37.1	844,633	42.9
1870	156,800	7.1	876,000	39.4	1,032,800	46.5
1880	180,817	7.1	627,213	24.7	808,030	31.8
1890	185,838	6.3	573,892	19.5	759,730	25.8

The cost in 1890 for the mean number of paupers of all classes was £10, 17*s.* 7*d.* per head, or £8,444,345 in all.



Chapter IV. Poor Relief in Families.

References. — Arguments for abolition of outdoor legal relief.

T. Chalmers: Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns, Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1900; abridged and edited by C. R. Henderson.

J. H. Hyslop: Forum, June, 1897, p. 476.

N. C. C., 1877, p. 94; 1879, pp. 200 ff; 1881, p. 144; 1890, p. 81.

N. C. C., 1883, p. 74.

Rep. N. Y. Board of Charities, 1884.

Hartford Report, On the Advisability of Establishing a Workhouse.

Favorable to retaining outdoor legal relief. — Lamond: Scottish Poor Laws.

Webb: Problems of Modern Industry, ch. vii.

F. B. Sanborn: N. C. C., 1890, pp. 73–80; 1878, p. 73.

F. B. Sanborn: in Lalor's Cyclopedia Pol. and Soc. Science, Art. Pauperism.

Comparison of views. — C. A. Ellwood: A. Jour. Soc., July, 1900.

Administration of outdoor relief. — M. E. Richmond: Friendly Visiting.

E. Münsterberg: Die Armenpflege.

Outdoor relief in cities of United States. — N. C. C., 1898, p. 182; 1894, pp. 65 ff.

Elberfeld system.

I. C. C. P., 1893, Sec. VI, pp. 187–189 (E. Münsterberg).

A. Jour. Soc., January, 1897 (E. Münsterberg).

Old age pensions (as substitute for poor relief). — Willoughby: Workingmen's Insurance.

W. M. Ede: Econ. Rev., April, 1892.

G. Lubbock: Some Poor Relief Questions, ch. 2.

L. R. Phelps: Econ. Rev., October, 1893.

Division of labor and coöperation between public relief and private charity. —

I. C. C. P., Sec. VI, pp. 210–227 (V. Böhmert); *idem*, Sec. I, pp. 89–97 (C. R. Henderson); *idem*, Sec. VI, pp. 120–132 (A. G. Warner).

Chapter V. Local Public Indoor Relief. (For statistics, see Ch. III.)

References. — M. R. Smith: Almshouse Women (Am. Stat. Asso., Sept., 1895).

N. C. C., 1879, p. 104; 1889, p. 197; 1884, pp. 295, 300; 1890, pp. xxiii, and 79; 1894, pp. 132, 119.

R. W. Hebberd: Char. Rev., February, 1901.

A. G. Warner: American Charities, p. 139.

John Cummings: Poor Laws of Massachusetts and New York.

New York State Charities Aid Association, Reports.

New York State Board Charities, 12th and 24th Reports; articles by W. P. Letchworth.



P. F. Aschrott: Das englische Armenwesen.
E. Münsterberg: Die Armengesetzgebung, S. 519.
H. A. Millis: A. Jour. Soc., January, 1898, p. 482.
George Eliot: Scenes from Clerical Life.
Minnesota, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, etc.: Reports of State Boards.
Ill. Rep. Board Pub. Char., 1872, p. 186 (F. H. Wines); 1890.
Article by C. R. Henderson: Atlantic Monthly, February, 1900.
Address by C. R. Henderson: Ohio State Conference, 1898, on "Economy of Trained Service."
Poor Law Conferences (British), 1898, p. 571.
Ill. Rep. Board Pub. Char., 1872, p. 186; 1896, p. 220 (records, causes); 1882 (descriptions of poorhouses).

Chapter VI. The Unemployed and Homeless.

References. — G. Drage: The Unemployed.
J. Hobson: Problems of Poverty, p. 138.
D. R. Dewey: Massachusetts Report on the Unemployed, 1895.
A. G. Warner: American Charities, p. 177.
N. C. C., 1880, p. 279.
N. C. C., 1881 (L. L. Barbour); 1877, p. 126 (C. L. Brace); 1878, p. 57.
N. C. C., 1893, 1895, p. 288 (Professor McCook); 1899 (Dr. Gladden).
N. C. C., 1886, p. 188; 1891, p. 169; 1895, p. 288 (McCook).
Lend a Hand, September, 1895, p. 167.
J. Flynt: Tramping with Tramps.
Municipal Affairs, Vol. I, No. 1, March, 1897.
Encyclopedia of Social Reforms, p. 1342.
I. C. C. P., 1893; volume on Organization of Charities, pp. 77–98.
First Report U. S. Bureau of Labor.
I. C. C. P., Sec. I, pp. 108–117, 207–216.
Eden: State of the Poor, I, 165.
Mills: Poverty and the State.
L. Meriwether: Tramps at Home.
D. Rocholl: Dunkle Bilder aus dem Wanderleben, 1895.
J. J. Jusserand: English Wayfaring in the Middle Ages.
Hansen: Die drei Bevölkerungsstufen, p. 215.
Ribton-Turner: History of Vagrants and Vagrancy.
Luther: Book of Beggars.
J. G. Brooks: An. Am. Acad., July, 1894.
Schriften des deutschen Verein für Armenpflege und Wohlthätigkeit, 16 and 17 Hft.
H. A. Millis: A. Jour. Soc., March, 1898 (laws in U. S.).



Char. Rev., June, 1894, English Municipalities and the Unemployed. *Ibid.*, December, 1894, Compulsory Colonization.
P. F. Aschrott: English Poor Law, p. 24.
Fowle: English Poor Law, p. 147.
E. Münsterberg: Die Armengesetzgebung, pp. 284, 370, 538.
Forum, February and May, 1894.
Ferri: Sociologia Criminale, p. 122.
C. Booth: Labour and Life, I, 150.
U. S. Consular Report, Vagrancy.
First Annual Rep. Poor Law Commissioners (English), 1834–1835.
E. Levasseur: L'Ouvrier Americain, I, 580.
Bulletin Dep. Labor (U. S.), March, 1896; January, 1897.
R. Mayo-Smith: Statistics and Economics, p. 95.

Lodging houses and municipal control. — N. C. C., 1885, p. 321 (Boston Lodge); 1886, p. 188.
E. R. L. Gould: Forum, June, 1894; cf. same, February, 1894 (Mrs. Lowell).
Fort. Rev., May, 1892 (E. M. Philips). I. C. C. P., Sec. I, pp. 117–123 (Ring).
Char. Rev., November, 1891 (A. Shaw).
A. Shaw: Municipal Government in Great Britain.
Articles in Municipal Affairs and Index.

Salvation Army schemes. — Nineteenth Century, Vol. 29, pp. 73–89 (Meath).
Con. Rev., March, 1893 (Moore).
Forum, February, 1892 (Peabody).
Jour. Pol. Econ., December, 1893 (Mavor).
Quar. Jour. Ec., Vol. V., pp. 1 ff (Warner).
Char. Rev., April, 1897, Vol. VI., p. 127; March, 1892 (Mrs. Lowell).
T. Huxley: Social Diseases and Worse Remedies.
"General" Booth: In Darkest England and the Way Out.
C. S. Loch: An Examination of "General" Booth's Social Scheme (1890).
Pol. Sci. Quar., April, 1891 (W. J. Ashley).
Fort. Rev., July, 1892 (Arnold White).

Employment Bureau. — N. C. C., 1885, p. 362 (Barnes). Tenth Rep. Bureau of Labor Statistics of Illinois, 1898.

German labor colonies and related arrangements. — Forum, February, 1892 (Peabody).
Report on Labor Colonies, J. Mavor, 1892.
Der Wanderer (periodical).
v. Reitzenstein: Der Arbeitsnachweis, Berlin, 1897.
R. v. Hippel: Die strafrechtliche Bekämpfung von Bettel, Landstreicherei und Arbeitsscheu, 1895.

E. Münsterberg: Die Armenpflege, p. 129.

Dutch Colonies. — H. C. Willink: Dutch Home Labor Colonies, 1889.

Chapter VII. Dependent Children.

References. — H. Folks: Char. Rev., 1899 and 1900; N. C. C., 1891, p. 136.

N. C. C., 1891, p. 124 (Finley); 1888; 1889; 1895, pp. 195–213; 1884, p. 132.

N. C. C., 1892 (H. H. Hart, H. Folks).

N. C. C., 1883 (Letchworth). N. C. C., 1890, p. 190 (Miss Putnam).

Proceedings of a Conference on the Care of Dependent and Delinquent Children in the State of N. Y., 1893; published by State Charities Aid Asso.

History of Child-saving (Letchworth, Randall, etc.).

A. G. Warner: American Charities, p. 202.

W. Chance: Children under the Poor Law, 1898.

E. Münsterberg, Die Armenpflege (gives list).

Florence D. Hill: Children of the State.

E. C. Wines: Prisons and Child-saving Institutions.

C. D. Randall: A. Jour. Soc., May, 1896; N. C. C., 1888, p. 262.

J. A. Riis: Children of the Poor.

C. L. Brace: Dangerous Classes of New York.

Mrs. C. R. Lowell: N. Y. State Board of Charities, 23d Rep., pp. 179–259.

Rep. Mass. Infant Asylum and Board of Charity.

Penn. Children's Aid Society Reports.

I. C. C. P., 1893, Sec. II.

Children's Aid Society of Massachusetts (Birtwell) Reports.

Mrs. Wiggin: Timothy's Quest.

Florence Kelley: A. Jour. Soc., Vol. II, No. 3.

M. E. Richmond: Friendly Visiting, ch. v.

Ill. Rep. Board Pub. Char., 1888, p. 76; 1898, p. 61, 266, 279.

Report of State Board of Charity of Massachusetts, 1900, p. 33 ff.

Report of State Charities Aid Association of New York, 1898, p. 27 (on motherless infants).

Manual training schools. — N. C. C., 1888, p. 272 (Felix Adler).

Fresh air and "Country Week." W. S. Ufford: Fresh Air Charity in the United States, 1897.

J. A. Riis: Children of the Poor, ch. x.

R. A. Woods (ed.): Poor in Great Cities, pp. 131–150.

Compulsory education. N. C. C., 1885, p. 228 (W. T. Harris).

Placing out. N. C. C., 1885, p. 201 (Alden); p. 210 (Miss Smith); 1875, p. 21; 1884, p. 143 (Hart); 1887, p. 293.



Lend a Hand: January, 1895 (Child).

New England Conference of Charities, October, 1894.

Kindergartens. — N. C. C., 1885, p. 222; 1886, p. 48; 1888, p. 247 (Kate Douglas Wiggin); 1889 (Mrs. Cooper).

K. D. Wiggin: The Kindergarten, 1893.

J. A. Riis: Children of the Poor, ch. ii.

Day nurseries (crèches). — Char. Rev., June, 1892 (E. Carlyle).

Gurteen: Handbook of Charity Organizations, pp. 79–93.

Motherless infants. N. C. C., 1885, p. 185 (Mrs. Du Bois); 1885, p. 181 (Massachusetts plan, Mrs. Leonard); 1889, p. 1; 1882, p. 57 (Sanborn); 1877, p. 67.

The care of motherless infants — illustrations of need and dangers.

Illegitimate children cared for by the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society in one year without the help of their mothers.

52 children under 1 month, 17 lived, 35 died.
41 children under 3 months, 15 lived, 26 died.
32 children under 6 months, 20 lived, 12 died.
30 children under 1 year, 21 lived, 9 died.

These figures, taken from the records of a careful society, show the difficulty of rearing young infants without maternal care, and the fact that abandonment is often equivalent to infanticide. The same law comes out in the report of the (N.Y.) State Charities Aid Association, 1898, p. 27: "During the year ending September 30, 1895, there were received 129 foundlings, of whom 4 were reclaimed almost immediately by their parents, 1 was adopted the day after its admission, and the other 124 died — a death rate among those who did not leave the institution almost immediately after admission of 100 per cent. . . . Other large cities, notably Boston and Philadelphia, had tried the plan of boarding the foundlings in families, and had reduced the mortality from 95 and 100 per cent to from 20 to 30 per cent." The New York committee succeeded, even in a trying summer season, in reducing the death rate with 45 cases from 100 to 62.2 per cent, and the rate for the entire year would be lower.

The evil effects of public subsidies to private institutions is illustrated by the experience in New York City.

"In 1868 there were 2257 children in the county poorhouses. In 1875 the 'Children's Law' was enacted. By it children were excluded from the county poorhouses, and were to be placed in sectarian or private asylums of the religion of the parents at the expense of the public. . . . One sectarian institution has had for many years an average of about 3000 children on hand, the public paying about $300,000 yearly for their support. . . . Under this régime child dependence rapidly increased."



The following table presents startling contrasts of the results of the different methods: —

New York, one dependent child to	200 of population
California, one dependent child to	225 of population
Pennsylvania, one dependent child to . . .	600 of population
Ohio (county homes), one dependent child to .	1,000 of population
Indiana (county homes), one dependent child to	1,100 of population
Massachusetts, one dependent child to . . .	1,000 of population
Michigan, one dependent child to	12,500 of population

New York and California have the subsidy system, and Michigan has long had a state system, and the results are apparent.

C. D. Randall: A. Jour. Soc., May, 1896.
New York State Charities Aid Association, pub. 63.

Under the Michigan system, 4,752 children since 1874 were disposed of as follows: —

Total present wards	1,456
Returned to counties	596
Died	163
Adopted	467
Became 21 years of age	292
Girls married	143
Restored to parents	573
Declared self-supporting	1,062
Total	4,742

Chapter VIII. Medical Charity.

References. — Hospitals, Dispensaries, and Nursing, I. C. C. P., 1893, Sec. II, by Dr. J. S. Billings, H. M. Hurd.

H. C. Burdett: Hospitals and Asylums of the World.

I. A. Hampton: Nursing; its Possibilities and Practice.

N. C. C., 1883, p. 433; 1890, p. 110, p. 156 (Hurd); 1891, p. 52; 1894, p. 94; 1895, p. 256; 1875, p. 52; 1877, p. 31; 1898, p. 320; 1899, p. 118.

Forum, June, 1897 (Dr. Shrady on Dispensaries).

H. Ellis: Nationalization of Health.

T. Schäfer: Weibliche Diakonie.

W. Rathbone: Sketch of the History and Progress of District Nursing, London, 1890.

H. M. Hurd: Hospitals, Dispensaries, and Nursing, Char. Rev., 1900 (Bibliography, pp. 417–418).

S. W. Mitchell (ed.): Suggestions as to Hospital and Asylum Visitors.



H. M. Hurd and J. B. Chapin: Report on the Hospitals of the District of Columbia, 1898.

Florence Nightingale: Notes on Nursing, New York, Appleton, 1860.

Florence Nightingale: Notes on Nursing for the Laboring Classes, London, Harrison, 1876.

W. G. Thompson: Training Schools for Nurses (article in Burke's Handbook of the Medical Sciences, Vol. V).

Ill. Rep. Board Pub. Char., 1896, p. 81 (Cook County).

Outdoor medical relief. — N. C. C., 1878, p. 32 (Wheelwright); 1880, p. xlix.

Provident dispensaries. — N. C. C., 1877, p. 38.

Dispensaries. — N. Y. State Board Char., 1899, p. 17.
N. C. C., 1878, p. 76.

Hospitals for consumptives. — 47th An. Rep. State Hospital at Tewksbury (Mass.), p. 12.

Hospitals for venereal diseases. — N. C. C., 1889, p. 57 (Fisher).

Nurses. — N. C. C., 1890, p. 110 (Mrs. A. H. Smith); p. 115 (Cowles); p. 130 (Fullerton); p. 140 (Isabel J. Hampton).

Red Cross and First-Aid societies. — J. Finley (of London), I. C. C. P., p. 657.
N. C. C., 1883, p. 434 (Pine).

Preventive Medical Charity. — N. C. C., 1888 (Dr. Walk).

The Government Sick Insurance of Germany. — Münsterberg, p. 147, says: "In the year 1894, 7,760,000 persons were insured against sickness, 18,192,000 against accident, 11,510,000 against invalidism; and the sick associations contributed 109,000,000 marks for sick benefits; the trades societies paid 44,000,000 marks for accident benefits; and the insurance institutions paid 35,000,000 marks for old age or invalid insurance."

Reference. — Workingmen's Insurance, by W. F. Willoughby, 1898.

Chapter IX. Voluntary Charity of Individuals and Associations.

Church Charity. — Ratzinger: Die Kirchliche Armenpflege.
N. C. C., 1894.
N. C. C., 1889, p. 36 (Warner).
N. C. C., 1888, p. 198 (Wines).
N. C. C., 1880, p. 35 (Brinkerhoff).
George Herbert: A Priest to the Temple, ch. xii.
G. W. Mead: Modern Methods in Church Work (1897).
W. Gladden: The Christian Pastor and the Working Church.
Uhlhorn: Die Christliche Liebestätigkeit (3 vols.).
Uhlhorn: Christian Charity in the Ancient Church.



Social Settlements. — C. R. Henderson: Social Settlements, pp. 166, 23, 168.
Jane Addams: The Subtle Problems of Charity, At. Mon., Feb., 1899, p. 163.
R. A. Woods: The City Wilderness.
Philanthropy and Social Progress.
The Commons, published at the Chicago Commons.

Endowed charities. — References. A. Hobhouse: The Dead Hand.
J. Mackay: The State and Charity, 1898.

Subsidies and sectarian control. — Ill. Rep. Board Pub. Char., 1888, p. 77, 272 ff.

The National Conference of Charities and Conditions; history. — N. C. C., 1893; 1885, p. 501; 1886; 1888, p. 1; 1887, pp. 14–20; 1889, p. xviii; 1892, p. 338; 1875, preface; 1898.

State Charities Aid Association. — N. C. C., 1875, p. 103; 1893, p. 34.
Reports of New York State Charities Aid Association.

Chapter X. Charity Organization Society.

References. — S. H. Gurteen: A Handbook of Charity Organization.
A. G. Warner: American Charities, Ch. XIX (excellent).
T. Chalmers: The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns (Scribner).
Reports of Boston, New York, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Chicago, and other Societies.
Charity Organization Review (London).
Charities Review, New York.
E. Münsterberg: A. Jour. Soc., January, March, 1897.
C. L. Loch: Charity Organization.
N. C. C., 1878, p. 67; 1879 (Seth Low); 1881, p. 178; 1884, p. 69; 1885 (McCulloch); 1883, p. 75; 1888, p. 120; 1887, pp. 123, 135; 1889, p. 10; 1892, p. 304; 1893, p. 52; 1895, pp. 80–101; 1898; 1899; 1900.
M. E. Richmond: Friendly Visiting.
Octavia Hill: Our Common Land, ch. 7.
J. R. Commons: Social Reform and the Church, pp. 27–48.
E. T. Devine: The Practice of Charity.

Pensions for the aged. — N. C. C., 1885, p. 353 (C. L. Loch).

Savings banks and thrift. — N. C. C., 1887, p. 143 (Scribner).
M. W. Brown: Thrift.
Am. Soc. Sci., Jour., June, 1887, H. L. Wayland.

Part III. Defectives.

Statistics of all classes of defectives. The numbers per 1,000,000 of the population (1890–1891). — Mayo-Smith: Statistics and Sociology, p. 213: —



	Blind.	Deaf Mutes.	Insane.	Idiotic.	Total.
Austria	806	1,292	1,513	656	4,267
Hungary	1,051	1,089	603	1,009	3,752
Sweden	825	1,109	1,818	1,592	5,344
Norway	1,289	1,080	3,896		6,265
England and Wales . . .	809	489	3,357		4,653
Scotland	695	528	2,594	1,246	5,063
Ireland	1,135	715	3,176	1,327	6,353
United States	805	659	1,697	1,526	4,687

We are warned that the comparison by countries is not wise, since the accuracy of the figures varies with the numbers sheltered in institutions.

Causes of blindness. — The census data are not reliable, because they are taken by persons incompetent to form a judgment. Blindness is chiefly an affection of advancing age. "In Ireland 71 per cent of the total blind were aged 50 years or over. In Scotland 50 per cent of the males and 65 per cent of the females who were blind were over 60 years of age. In England 45 per cent of the males and 56 per cent of the females were 55 years of age and over" (Mayo-Smith).

Deaf-mutism is most marked in childhood. In Ireland 76 per cent of this class were born deaf.

Insanity. — There is a great apparent increase, largely due to the improved registration and more general use of hospitals and asylums. The number treated in institutions in the United States rose from 56,205, in 1881, to 97,535, in 1889. Insanity increases with infirmity and age.

Idiocy is most conspicuous in early life, the highest number of feeble-minded being between 20 and 25 years of age.

Double and triple defect. — "In England, in 1891, there were 82 both blind and deaf and dumb, 380 blind lunatics, 500 deaf-mute lunatics, and 25 lunatics who were also blind and deaf and dumb" (Mayo-Smith). In relation to all these defects, the statements of causes in general tables, collected by ordinary persons, are of much less value than those given of comparatively small numbers by careful medical authorities who have studied each case.

Chapter I. Deaf Mutes and Blind.

References. — Edward Ellis Allen: in Education in the United States, ed. N. M. Butler, 1900, p. 773 (bibliography).

Publications of the Volta Bureau, Washington, D.C.
American Annals of the Deaf.
U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1897–1898, II, 2511.
R. W. Hebberd: Char. Rev., Feb., 1901, p. 583 (homes).
H. A. Millis: Laws; A. Jour. Soc., July, 1898, p. 51 ff.
N. C. C., 1882, p. 208 (Wait).
N. C. C., 1886, p. 234 (Huntoon).
N. C. C., 1888, p. 113 (Dow).
Reports of State Institutions.
Medical Inspection in Schools, Rep. U. S. Com. Education, 1897–8, II, 1489. Child Study, *ibid.*, II, 1281.
Ill. Rep. Board Pub. Char., 1872, pp. 13–42; 1888, p. 69 (workshops for blind); 1882, p. 89.
32d Rep. New York State Board of Charities (1899), p. 21 (institutions for defectives are "charitable" in the legal sense).
Deaf mutes. — N. C. C., 1886, p. 215 (Fay); 1883, p. 406 (Peet).

Chapter II. The Feeble-minded.

References. — Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Faribault, Minn.
Proceedings of Association of Medical Officers of American Institutions for Idiotic and Feeble-minded Persons, 1876–1898.
S. G. Howe: Report on Idiocy, Boston, 1850.
Alexander Johnson: A. Jour. Soc., November, 1898.
Alexander Johnson: Ill. Rep. Board Pub. Char., 1898, p. 297.
F. Warner: The Study of Children.
P. Sollier: Psychologie de l'idiot et de l'imbecile, 1891.
N. C. C., 1893 (Fernald).
N. C. C., 1895, pp. 150–185; 1897, p. 287 (Powell).
Alice Mott: Slow Children; Char. Rev., June, 1896.
G. E. Shuttleworth: Mentally Deficient Children (1895) (bibliography).
W. W. Ireland: The Mental Affections of Children (1898).
A. Church and F. Petersen: Nervous and Mental Diseases (1899).
H. Emminghaus: Die psychischen Störungen des Kindesalters (1887).
Moreau: La Folie chez les enfants (1888).
Ill. Rep. Board Pub. Char., 1872, p. 16; 1898, p. 293, 296; 1896, p. 38.
N. C. C., 1884, p. 246 (Kerlin); 1886, p. 288 (Kerlin); 1888, p. 396 (Barrows, S. J.); 1891, p. 98 (Fisk); 1888, p. 106 (Wilbur); 1887, p. 250 (Powell); 1889, p. 86 (Mrs. Brown); 1890, p. 244 (Kerlin, moral imbecile); 1892, p. 155 (Knight); 1885, p. 158, 174 (Kerlin, Richards); 1888, p. 101 (Rogers).



Feeble-minded: Inheritance. — The following study was made by Mr. E. P. Bicknell and published in the Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Correction, December, 1896, p. 7: —

"There are in Indiana to-day about 1400 feeble-minded women between the ages of sixteen and forty-five years. Unless these women have the utmost care and protection of intelligent parents, they are almost certain to become mothers. A careful study of 248 Indiana families, in each of which one or more members have been feeble-minded, proves that feeble-mindedness is hereditary in a marked degree and commonly descends from generation to generation. The 248 families whose life history has been studied, contained a total of 887 different individuals. Of this number 63.4 per cent were found to be feeble-minded; 2.6 per cent epileptic; 3 per cent insane; .8 per cent blind, and 1.7 per cent deaf. Of the entire 887 persons, 20.9 per cent were illegitimate. In 101 of the families studied, feeble-mindedness was found to have existed in two or more generations. In these 101 families the number of feeble-minded amounted to 80 per cent of their entire membership . . . In one of our Southern Indiana counties is a family of paupers, which has been represented in the county asylum by from three to six or more members continuously for the last thirty-five years. During this period over thirty different members of the family have been inmates of the poor asylum. So far as known, every member of the family has been feeble-minded. At least ten members have been illegitimate. Already this family has cost the county more than $10,000 for support, and its history is not closed. In fact its productive power for evil is probably as great to-day as at any time in its history."

It is desirable that students should investigate similar family histories in their own counties. Most communities, unfortunately, will furnish only too much material.

Chapter III. The Insane.

References. — N. C. C., 1892, pp. 94–124; 1888.

Ill. Rep. Board Pub. Ch., 1874, p. 19; 1884, p. 65; 1890, p. 82; 1896; 1874, p. 20; 1898, p. 266 (boarding); p. 44 (plans).

Wisconsin Plan. Char. Rev., June, 1900, p. 151.

Reports of Wisconsin Board of Control.

Report Pennsylvania Board of Public Charities, 1898 (Com. on Lunacy).

I. C. C. P., 1893, Sec. I, Pt. I, p. 320 (detention hospitals); p. 124 (Barr).

Reports of Institutions and State Boards of Charities and Commissioners.

Insanity: Physiological, Psychological, and Medical Literature.

J. Loeb: Comparative Physiology of the Brain, ch. xiv.

T. S. Clouston: Mental Disease.

Spitzka: Manual of Insanity.

Maudsley: The Pathology of the Mind.
Mercier: Sanity and Insanity.
Ireland: Idiocy and Imbecility.
Paul Sollier: The Idiot and the Imbecile.
Chevert: Maladies du système nerveux.
E. Regis: Mental Medicine (1895).
A. MacDonald: Insanity and Genius, Arena, June, 1893 (bibliography).
Bucknill and Tuke: Psychological Medicine.

Insanity: institutional arrangement and treatment. —
Thomas S. Kirkbride: On the Construction, Organization, and General Arrangements of Hospitals for the Insane (1880, rev. ed.).
W. P. Letchworth: The Insane in Foreign Countries.
D. H. Tuke: The Insane in the United States and Canada.
H. C. Burdett: Hospitals, Vol. III., chs. xiii., xv.
Ill. Rep. Board Pub. Char., 1884, p. 65.
N. C. C., 1876, p. 72 (Wilbur); 1875, p. 16; 1875, p. 45 (commitment); 1875, p. 47 (state commission); 1876, p. 54 (E. C. Mann); 1879, p. 59 (Wines); 1883, p. 441 (congregate and cottage, Dewey); 1891, p. 78, and 1892, p. 136; 1882, p. 97 (Wisconsin plan); 1892, p. 125 (Dewey); 1891, p. 85 (state care); 1884, p. 222 (compensation for labor, S. Smith).
N. C. C., 1888, p. 25 (commitment, S. Smith); 1888, p. 69 (brain care, Richardson); 1888, p. 91 (prevention, Fisher); 1887, p. 215 (Hurd); 1887, p. 271 (schools for attendants, Dewey); 1892, p. 94 (Smith).

Medical Jurisprudence. — A. M. Hamilton: A System of Legal Medicine.
Hofmann and Petersen: Medical Jurisprudence.

Historical. — A. D. White: A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology, II, ch. xv, xvi.
N. C. C., 1876, p. 90 (Bodim); 1885, p. 123 (Gundry); 1885, p. 94 (Chapin).

Chapter IV. Further Special Institutions for Defectives.

Epileptics: References. — W. P. Letchworth: Care and Treatment of Epileptics (1899).
J. Sutton: A Colony of Mercy (Bielefeld).
N. C. C., 1898 (Carson).
Ill. Rep. Board Pub. Char., 1898, pp. 72, 300.
N. C. C., 1886, p. 298 (Knight); 1881, p. 325 (Russell); 1890, p. 263 (Gundry.)

Inebriates. — N. C. C., 1888, p. 131 (Slocum); 1892, p. 142 (Dewey).

Sterilization of the defective and criminal: References. — Boies: Prisoners and Pauperism.
A. Jour. Soc., May, 1900, p. 847.

Social selection by segregation. — N. C. C., 1888, p. 91 (Fisher).

Chapter V. State Boards and Federal Functions.

References. — N. C. C., 1877, p. xv (Rhode Island); 1883 (Bishop Gillespie); N. C. C., 1895, p. 28; 1890 (Wines); 1884, p. 92; 1892, p. 13 (Letchworth); 1893, p. 33; 1886, p. 19; 1887, p. 75 (Sanborn); p. 267; 1889 (Hart); 1881, p. 240.

Goodnow: Municipal Problems, p. 308.

Woolsey: Political Science, II, 367.

Ill. Rep. Board Pub. Char., 1874, p. 44 ff; 1884, p. 7.

N. Y. State Charities Aid Ass., N. C. C., 1897, p. 278.

W. P. Letchworth: Care and Treatment of Epileptics, p. 24.

Reports of Charitable and Reformatory Institutions of the District of Columbia.

State Boards of Control. — S. E. Sparling: Ann. of Am. Ac., Jan., 1901, p. 74. Charities, Jan. 19, 26, 1901.

Public supervision of private charities. — 31st Rep. Mass. State Board of Charity, 1900, pp. 83–84.

Accounts of public institutions, checks, and auditing: References. — Ill. Rep. Board Pub. Char., 1872, pp. 123–125.

The Merit System in public institutions. — N. C. C., 1877, p. xxv.; 1880, p. 28, 224; 1881, pp. xxx., 13, 170, 188, 251; 1882, pp. 34, 208, 215; 1884, p. 92; 1889, p. 109, 116; 1897; 1898; 1899.

Charity to Indians. — N. C. C., 1887, p. 163 (Garrett); p. 172 (Miss Fletcher); 1892, p. 23 (Garrett); p. 59 (Miss Fletcher).

Women in philanthropy. — E. Münsterberg: Die Armenpflege.

N. C. C., 1891, p. 230; 1892, p. 216.

Part IV. Criminal Sociology.

For "schedule" which may be used to guide observation and detailed study of prisons and reformatories, see Appendix, Part I.

Abbreviations: N. P. A. = Proceedings of National Prison Association, 1886–1899 (14 vols.). N. C. C. = National Conference of Charities and Corrections.

List of Books in English, on Crimes, Criminals, Prisons, Reformatories, Criminal Law, Juvenile Offenders, Prevention: —

E. Ferri: Criminal Sociology.

R. Dugdale: The Jukes.

C. Lombroso and G. Ferrero: The Female Offender.

H. Ellis: The Criminal.

A. Drähms: The Criminal.



F. H. Wines: Punishment and Reformation.
R. Mayo-Smith: Statistics and Sociology.
R. Mayo-Smith: Emigration and Immigration.
G. Rylands: Crime, Its Causes and Remedy.
A. Bradford: Heredity and Christian Problems.
A. MacDonald: Criminology (T. Y. Crowell, N. Y.).
A. MacDonald: Abnormal Man (Government Printing House, Washington). Contains list of books and index of N. P. A. to 1892.
A. MacDonald: Education and Patho-Social Studies.
E. S. Talbot: Degeneracy (Scribners).
W. D. Morrison: Crime and Its Causes.
W. D. Morrison: Juvenile Offenders.
C. D. Wright: Relation of Economic Conditions to the Causes of Crime, in Am. Ac. of Pol. and Soc. Sci., No. 91.
Le Bon: The Crowd.
J. Bentham: Principles of Legislation.
Stephen: History of Criminal Law in England.
Pike: History of Crime in England.
Montesquieu: Spirit of the Laws.
Bishop: Criminal Law (full).
May: The Law of Crime (brief).
Mann: Psychological Medicine, or A. M. Hamilton, A System of Legal Medicine.
E. C. Wines: Prisons and Child-saving Institutions.
Aschrott: English System of Punishment.
E. Du Cane: Punishment and Prevention of Crime.
Tallack: Penological and Preventive Principles.
H. M. Boies: Prisoners and Poverty.
Pestalozzi: Leonard and Gertrude.
C. L. Brace: Dangerous Class.
C. L. Brace: Gesta Christi.
Ribot: Diseases of the Will.
Guyau: Education and Heredity.
Life of John Howard.
Life of Elizabeth Fry.
The N. Y. State Reformatory, F. Winter.
Swan Sonnenschein: Social Science Series.
Leffingwell: Illegitimacy.
Maudsley: Responsibility in Mental Disease.
C. B. Beccaria: Essay on Crimes and Punishments (in J. A. Farrar's Crimes and Punishments).
J. Flynt: The Powers That Prey.



M. Davitt: Leaves from a Prison Diary.

D. L. Dix: Remarks on Prisons and Discipline in United States. Boston, 1845.

J. Howard: State of Prisons, 1784 (rare and costly.)

J. Howard: Further Observations on Prisons, 1789.

E. C. Wines: International Penitentiary Congress, 1873.

Late reports by C. D. Randall and S. J. Barrows, 1895. Washington, D. C.

R. W. McClaughry: Bertillon System, Rand, McNally, Chicago.

W. M. F. Round: Our Criminals and Christianity, New York, 1888.

R. Vaux: Brief Sketch of Penitentiary for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1888.

Proceedings of National Prison Congress. Write J. P. Byers, Columbus, Ohio (indexed to 1892 in MacDonald's Abnormal Man).

Proceedings of National Conference of Charities and Correction, H. H. Hart, secretary, Unity Building, Chicago.

American Journal of Sociology, University of Chicago. $2.00 a year since July, 1895.

Journal of Social Science.

U. S. Census, 1890, Crime, Pauperism, and Benevolence, 2 parts.

Twelfth Report Mass. Bureau of Statistics.

A very *complete* list of books and articles on crime, in various languages, is printed in MacDonald's Criminology, but it is not annotated.

SOCIETIES.

I. For study of Criminal Anthropology.
 International Congress of Criminal Anthropology.
 Organ: Archives de l'Anthropologie Criminelle. See Ellis, The Criminal, p. 307.

II. For study of Penal Law.
 L'Union Internationelle de Droit Penal (the International Association of Penal Law), founded in 1889, on the suggestion of Professor von Liszt.
 Bulletins published by J. Gutentag, Berlin.

III. For the study of Penology.
 1. International Penitentiary Congress. Secretary, Dr. Guillaume, Geneva, Switzerland.
 2. National Prison Association. Secretary, Rev. J. L. Milligan, Allegheny, Pa.
 References. — N. P. A., 1886, preface and p. 25; 1887, p. 49 (historical).
 3. Société Générale des Prisons (France). Secretary, M. Albert Rivière.
 Organ: Revue Pénitentiaire, Paris, Marchal et Billard.



4. Verein der deutschen Strafanstaltsbeamten.
 Organ: Blätter für Gefängnisskunde. Editor, Dr. Jur. Oskar Wirth.
 Die Rheinische-Westfälische Gefängnissgesellschaft.

IV. Various societies which give attention to criminal sociology.
 National Conference of Charities and Correction, annual reports since 1879.
 American Social Science Association.

Instruction of Prison Officers and Assistants.

See Bul. Commission Pénitentiaire International, 4 ser., liv. III, 1900, Vol. 3, p. 424.

Assuming, for the present, that systematic instruction in prison science and related topics is desirable for all prison officers, we have to inquire how such instruction may be imparted.

(1) For the higher positions it is desirable to study these subjects at a university in the departments of sociology, jurisprudence, physiology, and pedagogy, when this is possible; and some of the universities are already prepared to do this work.

(2) For subordinate positions, to be filled by men who have a "good English education," two methods are available: (*a*) a normal class in the prison; (*b*) study at a college or university, if the preparation is adequate for admission to regular classes, or if special classes are formed to give needed instruction; or (*c*) study in special institutes or classes to be formed for this purpose.

The subjoined Course of Study will serve for an outline of either plan, and its use might be facilitated if the leader in a prison should become a correspondent with the extension division of a university which offers such help. But it is possible to do a great deal simply under the leadership of an officer of the prison,—warden, chaplain, teacher, physician, or deputy.

Hints for leaders of classes or for private students:—

1. Each student should make brief abstracts of a chapter and be able to state each point in his own language.

2. The student should then write out his criticisms of the chapter, point by point, and give his reasons for his opinion. He should also add facts and judgments from his own observation, experience, conversation with experts, and his reading.

3. Discussion is valuable to clarify the judgment, improve expression, and deepen impressions.

4. Visits to other institutions of a similar kind are helpful. The points observed should be written down in notebooks, in the order of the schedule for observation.



5. The criminal code of the state statutes should be diligently studied and discussed.

6. The prison system of the state should be carefully described, and its strong and weak points discussed.

7. Incidents from prison life can be used for illustration of statements and principles mentioned in the text.

Normal Class in a Prison.

Course of Study.

I. The study of the criminal: physical, psychical, and social. D. D. D., Part IV, ch. i, and references in Appendix.

II. The study of the causes of crime. D. D. D., Part IV, ch. ii (compare Part I). The institution physician may give particular aid here, and in ch. i.

III. The study of criminal law and procedure. D. D. D., Part IV, ch. iii, and use references; also make careful abstracts of the criminal code of the state in which the prison is situated, and all related statutes and decisions. Lectures by a local lawyer would aid.

IV. Penology: process and method of punishment and reformation. D. D. D., Part IV, ch. iv, and references. Here the warden, teacher, and chaplain may divide the subjects for informal lectures and questions.

V. Preventive principles. D. D. D., Part IV, ch. v.

VI. Juvenile offenders. D. D. D., Part IV, ch. vi.

VII. Criminal statistics. D. D. D., Appendix.

Chapter I. Criminal Anthropology.

Clouston: Mental Diseases, pp. 255, 256.
Ellis: The Criminal, p. 230.
Ferri: Criminal Sociology, ch. i.
A. MacDonald: Criminology, pp. 130, 156, 157.
C. Féré: La Famille Neuropathique, ch. iii.
Letourneau: Evolution Juridique, p. 509.
C. Lombroso: L'Uomo Delinquente.
C. Lombroso: Female Offender.
G. Tarde: Char. Rev., April, 1897.
M. Benedikt: Verbrecher-Gehirnen.
Wines: Punishment and Reformation, ch. xi.
A. Marro: I Caratteri dei Delinquenti, ch. xxvi.
Dugdale: The Jukes, pp. 110–111.
E. S. Talbot: Degeneration.



Guyau: L'Art au point de vue sociologique, ch. iii.
J. H. Hyslop: A. Jour. Soc., May, 1897 (Supp.).
W. W. Ireland: The Mental Affections of Children, p. 31.
A. F. Chamberlain: The Child, 1900, ch. ix.
R. Fletcher: The New School of Criminal Anthropology, Amer. Anthr., Vol. IV (1891), pp. 47–49.
A. A. Baer: Der Verbrecher in anthropologischer Beziehung, Leipzig, 1893 (anti-Lombroso).
N. C. C., 1884, p. 256 (Kerlin: moral imbecility); N. C. C., 1885 (Brockway).
N. P. A., 1890, p. 274 (H. D. Wey); 1897, p. 347 (Lydston).
F. Warner: The Study of Children, pp. 57–59.
A. Krauss: Die Psychologie des Verbrechens.

Crime in relation to insanity.—N. P. A., 1898, p. 316 (Richardson); 1898, p. 327 (provision for the criminal insane, Allison); 1892, p. 175 (A. Jacobi).

Tramps.—N. P. A., 1898, p. 311 (A. Johnson).

Habitual criminals.—N. P. A., 1886, p. 189 (Wayland); 1887, p. 225 (same); 1889, p. 185 (Brinkerhoff); 1892, p. 255 (Spalding).

Inebriates and crime.—N. P. A., 1887, p. 239 (Spalding, Wayland); 1890, p. 243 (Morris); 1899, p. 45 (Warner).

Sex in crime: References.—C. Lombroso: The Female Offender.
Mayo-Smith: Statistics and Sociology, pp. 277, 282.
Working Women in Cities. Rep. Com. Labor, 1888.

Age.—A. Marro: La Pubertà.

Alcoholism.—Mayo-Smith: Statistics and Sociology, p. 279.
Vidal: Rév. pén., 1897.
J. Koren: Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem, 1899.
A. Baer: Der Alkoholismus, 1878.
Twelfth Report, Mass. Bureau Statistics.
J. Malgat: Bul. Com. Pén. Int., 1900, Liv. IV, p. 557.
J. Rountree and A. Sherwell: The Temperance Problem and Social Reform, 1900.

Freedom of will and responsibility.—W. James, Psychology, II, 572.
Rosenkranz: Philosophy of Education, p. 171.
Höffding: Ethik, p. 72.
Von Ihering: Zweck im Recht, p. 11.
A. Bradford: Heredity and Christian Problems, ch. vi.



Chapter II. Causes of Crime.

Review Part I, D. D. D., Heredity and environment.

Economic causes. — N. P. A., 1897, p. 254 (S. G. Smith); 1892, p. 121 (C. D. Wright).

A. Marro: I Caratteri dei Delinquenti, pp. 5, 33; ch. 25.

E. Ferri: Sociologia Criminale, pp. 117, 230.

E. Ferri: Criminal Sociology.

J. Bentham: Principles of Legislation, I, 9, 10.

C. Lombroso: Le Crime, Causes et Remedes, 1899.

Quetelet: Physique Sociale, II, 258.

V. Öttingen: Moralstatistik.

F. H. Wines: Punishment and Reformation, pp. 266, 292.

Mayo-Smith: Statistics and Sociology, pp. 259 ff.

W. D. Morrison: Juvenile Offenders, pp. 38–40.

Bodio: Rév. pén., 1897, p. 92.

A. G. Warner: A. Jour. Soc., November, 1895.

G. Tarde: Criminalité Comparée.

Foreign immigrants and crime. — H. H. Hart, A. Jour. Soc., November, 1896.

J. B. Weber: Char. Rev., January, 1894.

Cong. Record, 54th Congress, Vol. 29, 2d Session, March 2, 1897, House Pro.

Negroes and crime. — Hoffman's Race Traits of the American Negro.

DuBois: The Philadelphia Negro.

M. N. Work: A. Jour. of Soc., September, 1900.

Estimates of the relative importance of alcoholism as a crime cause.

Mr. Koren's studies of 13,402 convicts in 12 states, show that intemperance figured as one cause in 49.95 per cent of the cases; as the first cause in 31 per cent; sole cause, 16 per cent; crimes against the person, 51.5 per cent; crimes against property, 49.5 per cent (Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem, p. 133).

The nationalities seemed to be represented as follows in crimes due to intemperance: —

	PER CENT.		PER CENT.
Russians (many Jews)	25	Poles	53.41
Austrians	34.62	Scandinavians	56.25
Germans	44.87	Irish	56.70
Italians	50	Canadians	56.74
Americans	50.23	Scotch	58.33
English	52.92		



Negroes much led to crime by drink; acute cause.

The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics (26th Ann. Rep., p. 137) gives 50.88% due to intemperance, in striking agreement with Koren.

Swiss statistics, 1893, give 30.80% as direct cause of crime with 3142 convicts.

The Press and crime. — N. P. A., 1886, p. 145 (H. W. Mabie).

Chapter III. Penal Law.

References. — T. H. Green: The Right of the State to Punish, Works, II, 486 ff.
A. Prins: Science Pénale et Droit Positif (1899).
J. W. May: The Law of Crimes, 2d ed., 1893.
Bishop: Statutory Crimes.
Stephen: History of the Criminal Law.
Markby: Elements of Law.
Hochheimer: Law of Crimes and Criminal Procedure.
T. E. Holland: The Elements of Jurisprudence, 9th ed., 1900.
Woolsey: Political Science, I, 334.
McCarthy: History of Our Own Times, ch. 17.
S. J. Barrows: New Legislation concerning Crimes, Misdemeanors, and Penalties, Washington, 1900.
A. M. Hamilton: System of Legal Medicine.
R. von Krafft-Ebing: Lehrbuch der gerichtlichen Psychopathologie, 3d auf., 1892.
T. J. Lawrence: The Principles of International Law, pp. 233, 240.
Wheaton: International Law.
Davis: International Law.
Actes du Cong. pén. int. du St. Petersburg, 1890, Tom. II, pp. 13, 22, 34.
Report of Delegates to 5th Int. Prison Congress, p. 25.
Zurcher in Bulletin Congrès Pén. Int., 1900, 4 ser., Liv. III, 3d vol., p. 461.

Philosophy of crime and penalty. — N. P. A., 1890, p. 222 (W. T. Harris); 1895, p. 256 (Crocker); 1896, p. 14 (Brinkerhoff); 1896, p. 40 (F. H. Wines).

Criminal law reform in United States. — N. P. A., 1898, p. 185 (Ellison); 1898, p. 424 (Follett); 1892, p. 87 (F. Wayland); 1888, p. 113 (Wayland); 1890, p. 20 (Reeve); 1897, p. 141 (J. D. Milliken); 1895, p. 335 (Reeve); 1894, p. 149 (Eugene Smith); 1890.

The "indeterminate" sentence. — N. P. A., 1898, p. 164 (F. H. Wines); 1887, p. 184 (Brockway); p. 199 (Eugene Smith); 1897, p. 245 (Wines); 1895, p. 97 (Spalding); 1899, p. 159 (C. T. Lewis); 1898, p. 408 (J. F. Scott).

Variations in penalties in United States. — N. P. A., 1894, p. 315.



Chapter IV. Elements of Penology.

See chapter in Part II on the Unemployed, Colonies.

Reformatory System in the United States (House Document 459, Fifty-sixth Congress).

Prison Systems of the United States (House Document 566, Fifty-sixth Congress).

Indeterminate Sentence and the Parole Law (Senate Document 159, Fifty-fifth Congress).

Penological Questions (Senate Document 158, Fifty-fifth Congress).

Reports by S. J. Barrows.

F. H. Wines: Punishment and Reformation.

E. Du Cane: Punishment and Prevention of Crime.

S. J. Barrows: Forum, December, 1900, Progress in Penology.

Tallack: Penological and Preventive Principles.

Horatio Seymour: N. P. A., 1892.

Rutherford B. Hayes: N. P. A., 1888, p. 14.

Proceedings of National Prison Association.

Les Actes du Congrès pénitentiaires internationale: London, 1872; Stockholm, 1878; Rome, 1885; St. Petersburg, 1890; Paris, 1895; Brussels, 1900.

Reports of C. D. Randall and S. J. Barrows.

N. C. C., 1891, p. 202; 1883, p. 163.

N. P. A., 1894, p. 119 (C. R. Henderson); 1890, p. 79 (Wines); 1898, p. 15 (Brockway); 1895, p. 305; 1888, p. 161 (Vaux); 1899, p. 58 (Sanborn).

The jail. — Ill. Rep. Board Pub. Char., 1882, p. 299; 1890, p. 184.

N. C. C., 1886, p. 31; 1878, p. 102; 1881, p. 231.

N. P. A., 1898, p. 397 (Byers); 1886, p. 41; 1887, p. 242 (Meredith).

District workhouses. — N. C. C., 1879, p. 99.

N. P. A., 1898, p. 397 (Byers, Ohio workhouses).

Reformatory methods. — N. P. A., 1898, p. 500 (Coffin); 1898, p. 256 (C. D. Warner).

General works. — Franz von Holtzendorff und E. von Jagemann: Handbuch des Gefängnisswesens, Hamburg, J. F. Richter, 1888. 2 Bände.

Krohne: Lehrbuch der Gefängnisskunde.

Aschrott: Strafen und Gefängnisswesen Nordamerikas.

Dietaries: References. — Food Bulletins of Department of Agriculture, prepared under direction of Professor W. O. Atwater (valuable).

N. P. A., 1886, p. 61 (Brush).

Matrons for jails, etc. — N. C. C., 1881, p. 309.



Pardoning power in executive. — N. C. C., 1886, p. 77 (Hoadly).

Southern prisons, lease system. — N. C. C., 1883, p. 240 (G. W. Cable).
N. P. A., 1886, p. 130 (Sims); 1889, p. 108 (Cunningham); 1890, p. 104 (Lea); 1897, p. 298 (J. N. Henderson); 1897, p. 388 (Hill); 1893, p. 123.

Educational factor in prisons. — N. P. A., 1896, p. 151 (C. R. Henderson).

Religion as a reformatory factor, Chaplains, etc. — N. C. C., 1899, p. 204 (Tufts); 1886, pp. 103, 170 (Massie); 1892, p. 45 (French). See each year reports of Chaplains' Association of N. P. A.

Cellular prisons. — Dr. J. Morel, N. P. A., 1897, p. 266.
International Prison Congress, 1900 (resolutions).

English prison system. — Du Cane: Punishment and Prevention of Crime.
Aschrott: English Prison System.
Wines: Punishment and Reformation, p. 162.

Women's prisons. — N. C. C., 1881, p. 266 (Sherborn, Mass.).
N. P. A., 1898, p. 275 (S. F. Keeley); 1898, p. 439 (E. C. Johnson); 1886, p. 297 (Spalding); 1886, p. 301 (J. K. Barney); 1887, p. 170 (E. C. Johnson); 1889, p. 209 (same); 1891, p. 137 (same); 1897, p. 340 (same).

Reformatories for men. — N. C. C., 1899, p. 103 (G. Tufts).

The warden. — N. P. A., 1887, p. 125 (F. Wayland).

Extirpation of criminals. — N. P. A., 1886, p. 270 (C. D. Warner).

Medical aspects of prison life. — N. P. A., 1898, p. 111 (Keene, tuberculosis); 1898, p. 288 (Rankin); 1898, p. 436 (Blake); 1886, p. 77 (Morris); 1889, p. 235 (Wright); 1897, p. 370 (Sharp); 1895, p. 284 (Rankin, water); 1894, p. 235 (Ransom, tuberculosis); 1897, p. 314 (Wey); 1892, p. 250 (Wey).

Physical training of convicts. — N. P. A., 1888, p. 181 (Wey).

Prison management. — N. P. A., 1887, p. 158 (Hartley); 1888, p. 122 (Brockway); 1889, p. 164 (Hatch); 1890, p. 189 (Brush); 1897, p. 324 (Bridges); 1895, p. 191 (Chamberlain); 1894, p. 15 (Brinkerhoff); p. 188 (Patten, Scott, Wolfer, etc.).

Disciplinary punishments. — N. P. A., 1899, p. 71; 1898, p. 267 (Hall); 1886, p. 181 (Patterson); 1892, p. 109 (Wright); p. 159 (Massie); 1887, p. 219 (flogging at Elmira).

Prison architecture. — N. P. A., 1886, p. 43; 1891, p. 144 (Thomas).

Parole and conditional liberation. — N. P. A., 1898, p. 85 (McClaughry); 1886, p. 114 (Wines); 1889, p. 76 (Ohio law); 1890, pp. 38, 71 (McClaughry); 1891, p. 170 (Patterson, New Jersey law); 1897, p. 164



(Coffin, Ohio law); 1895, p. 83 (Wolfer); 1894, p. 364 (Minnesota law); 1896, p. 74 (Michigan law).

Prison labor. — N. P. A., 1898, pp. 101, 124; 1886, p. 216; 1888, p. 50; 1891, p. 31; 1894, p. 59 (Scott); 1899, p. 81 (Wolfer); p. 203 (Mills, New York); p. 211 (C. D. Wright); 1897, p. 347 (Remington); 1895, p. 62 (Allen).

Report of Industrial Commission on Prison Labor.

State control of all prisons. — N. P. A., 1898, p. 218 (Spalding).

Police in cities. — N. P. A., 1898, p. 299 (Felton); 1886, p. 198 (McGarigle); 1892, p. 146 (McClaughry); 1888, p. 195 (Felton); 1890, p. 125; 1891, p. 107; 1895, p. 298 (Deitsch); 1894, p. 170 (Crowley).

Federal prisons. — N. P. A., 1886, p. 109; 1887, p. 284; 1889, pp. 70, 257; 1890, p. 143; 1891, p. 117; 1896 (French); 1898, p. 207 (Lemley, Navy).

The Elmira system. Wines: Punishment and Reformation, p. 192.

N. P. A. (Cincinnati), Mr. Brockway.

A. Jour. Soc., 1898 (Bates).

N. P. A., 1897, pp. 245–269 (F. H. Wines).

N. C. C., 1885, p. 275 (C. D. Warner); 1886, p. 113 (Brockway); 1882, p. 189; 1878, p. 106 (Brockway).

N. P. A., 1899 (Bates).

The Law of New York for Elmira Reformatory.

"Every sentence to the reformatory of a person hereafter convicted of a felony or other crime shall be a general sentence to imprisonment in the New York State Reformatory at Elmira, and the courts of this state imposing such sentence shall not fix or limit the duration thereof. The term of such imprisonment of any person so convicted and sentenced shall be terminated by the managers of the reformatory, as authorized by this Act, but such imprisonment shall not exceed the maximum term provided by law for the crime for which the prisoner was convicted and sentenced." — Sec. 2, chap. 173, *Laws of 1877.*

Chapter V. Preventive Measures.

F. H. Wines: Punishment and Reformation, p. 292.

L. F. Ward: Psychic Factors, p. 306.

Ferri: Sociologia Criminale, ch. iii.

H. Ellis: The Criminal.

Tallack: Penological and Preventive Principles.

Romilly: Speeches, I, 44.



Identification and registration. — Forum, May, 1891.
N. P. A., 1891, p. 64 (Nicholson); 1887, pp. 8, 93; 1888, p. 73; 1889, p. 46 (Felton); 1895, p. 91 (McClaughry); 1898, p. 76 (Wolfer).
The Bertillon System of Identification, Chicago, 1896.
A. Bertillon: Identification Anthropometique, Paris, 1893.

Police prevention work. — N. C. C., 1885, p. 319 (Baker).

Care for discharged prisoners. — G. Drage: The Unemployed, p. 38.
Randall: Report of St. Petersburg International Prison Congress.
N. P. A., 1898, p. 155 (Ellen C. Johnson); 1898, p. 227 (Hart); 1897, p. 219 (Lytle); 1895, p. 222 (Barrows); 1894, p. 292 (Barrows); 1897, p. 218 (Bradshaw); p. 246 (Mrs. D'Arcamble); 1886, p. 281 (Round); 1890, p. 247; 1891, p. 160; 1894, p. 250; 1899, p. 184; 1887, p. 285; 1888, p. 221; 1889, p. 261.

Improvement of police agencies. — N. P. A., 1891, pp. 107, 188.

Deportation. — N. P. A., 1887, p. 270 (C. Nordhoff, suggests Alaska).

Indirect preventive measures. — F. H. Wines: Punishment and Reformation, ch. xiv.
L. F. Ward: Dynamic Sociology.

Elimination. — Boies: Prisoners and Poverty.
C. Féré: La Famille Neuropathique, p. 244.

Education. — Report U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1872.
N. C. C., 1885 (Harris).

Chapter VI. Principles of Method in the Treatment of Juvenile Offenders.

N. C. C., 1875, p. 66 (Mary Carpenter); 1876 (Brace).
N. C. C., 1891, p. 145 (Dudley, Illinois Industrial School for Boys); 1884, pp. 92, 102, 195.
Edu. Rev., May, 1894 (Seaver, Truants and Incorrigibles).

Kindergarten, preventive agency. — N. C. C., 1882, p. 140 (Mrs. Cooper).

General Works.

A. Fuchs: Die Gefangenen-Schutzthätigkeit und die Verbrechens-Prophylaxie.
Bulletins Commission Pénitentiaire Internationale, 1900.
W. D. Morrison: Juvenile Offenders.
Pestalozzi: Leonard and Gertrude.
C. D. Randall: art. on Michigan System, A. Jour. Soc., May, 1896.
N. C. C., 1892, p. 166.
C. L. Brace: Dangerous Classes.



E. C. Wines: Prisons and Child-saving Institutions.
Barnard: Reformatory Education.
A. Marro: La Pubertá.
A. Marro: art. in A. Jour. Soc., September, 1900.
A. MacDonald: Abnormal Man, p. 19.
A. F. Chamberlain: The Child, 1900 (full bibliography).
Hurd: Rev. Stat. Illinois, 1899, p. 255.
L. Ferriani: Minorenni Delinquenti, 1895.
L. Ferriani: Delinquenti scaltri e fortunati, 1897.
Mitteil. d. Krim. Vereinigung, 5 Bd., 1896.
New York Conference on Child Saving, 1893.
The Industrial and Reformatory Schools of England, C. O. S. Rev., March, 1897.

Reform schools. — N. C. C., 1890, p. 214 (industries).
N. C. C., 1892, p. 166.
Report U. S. Com. Education, 1897–1898, II., 2530.
N. P. A., 1888, p. 86 (Scouller); 1894, p. 338 (Hart, Minnesota system); 1886, p. 152 (Tufts, Massachusetts); 1888, p. 282 (English); 1890, p. 292 (Charlton); 1897, p. 198 (J. F. Scott); 1897, p. 287 (Winston); 1894, p. 52 (Hale); 1894, p. 300 (Lindley).

Boarding out delinquent children. — N. C. C., 1891, p. 136 (H. Folks).

Suspended sentence and probation. — N. P. A., 1899, p. 198 (G. Tufts).

Manual training in reformatories. — N. P. A., 1898, p. 244 (R. C. Bates).

Prevention of prostitution. — Int. Prison Congress, Paris, 1895.
N. C. C., 1879, p. 178 (Mrs. C. R. Lowell).

Reform schools for girls. — N. P. A., 1898, p. 450 (Mrs. A. Mitchell).

Prevention, morally endangered children. — N. P. A., 1888, p. 101 (Reeve); 1891, p. 39 (F. Wayland, legislation); 1891, p. 250 (Ottersen); 1898, p. 52 (Hart); p. 488 (Caldwell).

Pedagogics. — The science and art of teaching are important aids in the work of the reform school or the prison. Correctional education is a special branch of the general subject. References are given in: —

W. S. Monroe: Bibliography of Education, especially pages 81 ff., 105 ff., p. 165 ff. A valuable book is —
H. Barnard: Reformatory Education, Hartford, 1857.

Juvenile offenders. — To illustrate the law that juvenile waywardness is largely due to defects in domestic care and parental health, note: Social and domestic relations of 306 boys in the Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys: —



Both parents living	148
Parents separated	29
No parents	20
Mother only	51
Father only	49
Unknown	9
Total	306

— Report Wisconsin Board of Control, 1898, p. 224.

In the Reform School of the District of Columbia: —

Both parents living	49
Both parents living but separated	16
Father dead	19
Mother dead	18
Both father and mother dead	1
	103

Personal habits: —

Bad company	54
Doubtful record	34
Doubtful record, but good home	15
	103

Employment prior to commitment: —

Not employed	45
Employed part of the time	30
Attending school regularly	11
Attending school part of time	17
	103

Report Charitable and Reformatory Institutions of the District of Columbia, 1900.

Statistics of crime. Records. — There are several kinds of records from which criminal statistics may be made up. We do not know from counting the number of criminals in a state or nation, because no census taken can find them. Judicial statistics are of little significance, for they merely tell us the number of judges and other officers, the number of cases tried, and the kinds of cases. In the administration of justice the clerical force record the number of persons accused, acquitted, and convicted, with the penalties decreed; and these facts are of interest in indicating the volume of crime and of police activity. For our country the most significant figures are those collected by the Federal Census relating to the number of prisoners in jails and prisons at a given date.



Increase and decrease of crime. — Historically and practically it is desirable to know how crime is affected by the agencies used by society to repress or prevent it. But the widest divergence of views is found among statisticians in relation to the interpretation of the census and court records.

References to statistics of crime: Sources. — Eleventh Census; Crime, Pauperism, and Benevolence.

Convenient summaries are found in the Statesman's Year Book.

Mayo-Smith: Statistics and Sociology.

Drähms: The Criminal.

N. P. A., 1890, p. 48 (Falkner); 1891, p. 71 (Falkner); 1894, p. 13 (Brinkerhoff); 1897, pp. 182, 369 (F. H. Wines); p. 204 (H. H. Hart).

R. P. Falkner: Prison Statistics of the United States (1889); Criminal Statistics, Publications of the American Statistical Association, No. 15, September, 1891; Crime and the Census, Ann. Am. Acad., January, 1897; Statistics and Crime, Publications of American Economic Association, 1899.

Is crime increasing in the United States? — This question is the subject of controversy. The following table, compiled from the United States Census, is usually employed to prove that serious crime is rapidly advancing.

Census Year.	Prisoners.	Prisoners per 100,000 of Population.
1850	6,737	29
1860	19,086	61
1870	32,901	85
1880	58,609	117
1890	82,329	132

Important authors have presented an alarming prospect from these figures; D. A. Wells: Recent Economic Changes, p. 345; H. M. Boies: Prisoners and Pauperism, p. 1; W. Tallack: Penological and Preventive Principles, p. 140; C. Lombroso: Nor. Amer. Rev., December, 1897. W. D. Morrison also is not optimistic, in Juvenile Offenders, p. 279 ff.

But on the more hopeful side we may quote Professor Falkner's argument (Forum, July, 1900). There is no necessary connection between the number of prisoners and the number of offences. If the length of sentences is increased there will be more prisoners without increase in crimes. If the death penalty is abolished and life sentences substituted we must have more prisoners, but not more crimes. The increase may be due to praiseworthy activity of the



police in catching offenders, and thus the larger population of the prison will be a sign of moral vigor rather than social decay. The summary of Professor Falkner's view is in this language: "Crime, in the broadest sense, including all offences punished by law, has probably increased slightly in the last twenty-five years. On the other hand, crime in its deeper moral sense, as we are apt to picture it, has decreased." The state records cited by this authority are as follows, the number of commitments for all offences per 100,000 inhabitants: —

Massachusetts	939 in 1879		1119 in 1898
Pennsylvania (jail) . . .	1209 in 1875		1156 in 1895
Michigan (jail)	502 in 1875		739 in 1897

Crimes of violence against the person decreased in Massachusetts from 94 (in 100,000 population) in 1880 to 69 in 1898; Ohio from 54 in 1885 to 46 in 1895; Michigan from 111 in 1875 to 91 in 1897. Dr. F. H. Wines (Eleventh Census; Crime, Pauperism, and Benevolence, Vol. I, p. 126) warns us to accept the census figures with caution: "The increase in the number of prisoners during the last forty years has been more apparent than real, owing to the very imperfect enumeration of the prison population prior to 1880." Cf. Wines, Punishment and Reformation, p. 267, on the uncertainties of statistics.

The volume of crime cannot be measured by our statistics, but is indicated with sufficient clearness and accuracy to arouse all reflecting and public-spirited patriots from apathy and wicked optimism.



INDEX.

Admission and discharge, 80.
Admonition, 325.
Age, 25, 248.
Aims of charity, 40.
Alcoholism, 199, 251.
Almshouses, *see* Poorhouse, 71.
Anthropology, criminal, 215.
Architecture, of prisons, 281.
Associations, benevolent, 140; finances, 142.

Baby farms, 106.
Beliefs, 242.
Bertillon, 308.
Biology, 12.
Blind, 169 ff.
Boarding out children, 112.
Boards of charitable institutions, 202.

Capital punishment, 307.
Case card, 64.
Causes of crime, 237.
Causes, removing, 319.
Centralized administration, 300.
Charities Aid Associations, 149.
Charity Organization Society, 151 ff.
Children, dependent, 98 ff.; in poorhouses, 107; state system, 116; delinquent, 322.
Church, duty to poorhouse, 81; in charity, 158, 336, 341.
Classification, 8.
Classification of crimes, 266.
Colonies, 306.
Compulsory education, 333.
Comte, 13.
Conditional discharge, 292.
Conditions, 259.
Congregate system (prisons), 282.
Conjugal relations, 240.
Convalescents, 130.
Coöperation of agencies, 157.
Corporal punishment, 327.
Correctional agencies, 324.
Country week, 100.
County care of insane, 190.
Courts, 270, 315.
Creche, 99.
Criminals, study of, 217; classes of, 219.
Criminal type, 225.
Crippled and deformed children, 116.
Culture, 32.

Day industrial schools, 327.
Day nursery, *see* Creche.
Deaf mutes, 169 ff.
Definitions, 8.
Degenerates, 229, 252.
Density of population, 240.
Dependence, 9.
Dependent insane, 189.
Detention, 277, 327.
Detention hospitals, 193.
Directories of charities, 142.
Discharged prisoners, 311.
Discipline (prisons), 288.
Disease, 25.
Dispensaries, 130.
District nursing, 135.
Drink and drug habits, 26.
Duration of relief, 65.

Ecclesiastical charity, 144.
Economic conditions, 241.
Education, 37, 169; of officials, 213, 248, 333.
Education of public in charity, 158.
Emergency relief, 91, 156.
Employment, defects, 29, 30.
Endowed charities, 147.
Environment, spiritual, 19, 334.
Epilepsy, 176, 195.



Evolution of inferior types, 12.
Experiment, 13.
Expert advice, 159.
Explanatory science, 23.

Factory laws, 332.
Farm colonies, 96.
Federal functions, 208.
Feeble-minded, 174 ff.
Finance and relief, 48; of hospitals, 126.
Fines, 304, 326.
First aid to sick and injured, 137.
Foundlings and abandoned infants, 104.
Free employment bureau, 93.
Friendly visitors, 164.

Guardianship, 327.

Helplessness, 24.
Heredity, 14, 32, 178, 252, 316.
Holiday colonies, 100.
Homeless, 85.
Homes, of neglected children, 98.
Hospitals, social service, 121 ff.; special, 124; for insane, 185.
Housing, 34.
Humane societies, 103.
Hypnotism, 261.

Identification, 308.
Idiocy, 175.
Illegitimate children, 104.
Immigration, 38, 245.
Indeterminate sentence, 290.
Individual charity, 138.
Indoor relief, 71.
Industrial conditions, 35.
Industrial training, 25, 243.
Industry in prisons, 286.
Inebriates, 199.
Insane, 183; convicts, 306.
Institutions for children, 108.
International law, 274.
Investigation, 63.

Jails, 278.
Juvenile court, 324.
Juvenile delinquents, 322.

Kindergartens, 102.

Laboratories in prisons, 230.
Law, criminal, 262.
Licentiousness, 27.
Lockup, 277.
Lodging houses, 95, 116.

Manual training, 333.
Mark system, 288.
Material relief, 156.
Matrons, 280.
Medical charity, 121.
Medical jurisprudence, 273.
Morality and crime, 210, 255.
Motives, 255.

National charity, 208.
National Prison Association, 230.
Negroes, 247.
Normal types, 216.
Nurses, 132.

Occupation, 251.
Orders and societies, 146.
Organization of institutions of states, 202.
Outdoor relief, 52; statistics, 53, 364; laws, 54; rules, 55; abolition, 55; argument for, 58; principles of administration, 62; medical relief, 123.

Parole system, 292.
Pauper, defined, 10; civil privileges, 73.
Penal laws, 268.
Penalties, 275.
Penology, 276.
Pensions for nurses, 134.
Personal ministration, 69, 160.
Placing out children, 112.
Police, 316.
Political influences, 243.
Poorhouse, 71; law, 72; amelioration, 77.
Poor laws, grounds, 42; principles, 46.
Prevention of crime, 308, 332.
Prison laboratories, 230.
Prison science, 276; officials, 283, 300.
Prisons, 280; punishments in, 289; labor, 294.
Private charity, medical and nursing, 129.
Probation system, 303.



Procedure, 270.
Propagation of defects, 178.
Prostitution, 335.
Psychology, 216, 217.
Public, education of, 337.

Race traits, 29.
Reformatories, 331.
Reform schools, 329.
Registration, 308.
Relief, grounds of, 41; administration, 50; methods, 62; in cash or goods, 66.
Religion and crime, 211, 243; in prisons, 289, 341.
Reparation, 304.
Right to relief, 87.

Sanitarium, for children, 99.
Schools, industrial and parental, 102, 327 ff.
Selection, 20.
Self-help, 159.
Separate system (prisons), 281.
Settlement, pauper, 50.
Sex, 25, 247.
Shiftlessness, 28.
Sisterhoods, 134.
Slow children, 101, 182.
Social service, 167.
Social settlements, 143.
Sociology, criminal, 211.
Sources of knowledge and interest, 3.
State board and control, 202.
Statistical groups, grades, 24.
Struggle for life, 17.
Subsidy policy, 209.
Substitutes for imprisonment, 302, 311.
Suggestion, 244.
Supervision of homes, 115.
Sympathy, 1.

Theoretical science, 6.
Training, 95.
Tramps, 95.
Transmission, 14.

Unemployed, 83.

Vagrant residuum, 94.
Variation, 14.
Visitors, 164.
Voluntary charity, 138.

Whipping, 306.
Wisconsin, care of insane, 191.
Woodyards, 95.
Workhouses, 280.
Women, prisons for, 298.





ADVERTISEMENTS.





History.

Thomas's History of the United States. For schools, academies, and the general reader. A narrative history with copious references to sources and authorities. Fully illustrated. 532 pages. Half leather. $1.12.

Wilson's Compendium of United States and Contemporary History. For schools and the general reader. 40 cts.

Sheldon's American History. Follows the "seminary" or laboratory plan. "By it the child is not robbed of the right to do his own thinking." Half leather. $1.25.

Teacher's Manual to Sheldon's American History. A key to the above system. 60 cts.

Sheldon's General History. For high school and college. The only general history following the "seminary" or laboratory plan. Half leather. $1.75.

Sheldon's Greek and Roman History. Contains the first 250 pages of the above book. $1.00.

Teacher's Manual to Sheldon's History. Puts into the instructor's hand the *key* to the above system. 85 cents.

Sheldon's Studies in Historical Method. A manual for teachers and students. Cloth. 90 cents.

Allen's Topical Outline of English History. Including references for literature. Cloth. 40 cts.

Shumway's A Day in Ancient Rome. With 59 illustrations. Should find a place as a *supplementary reader* in every high-school class studying Cicero, Horace, Tacitus, etc. 75 cts.

Allen's History Topics. Covers Ancient, Modern, and American history, and gives an excellent list of books of reference. 121 pages. Paper, 30 cts.

Fisher's Select Bibliography of Ecclesiastical History. An annotated list of the most essential books for a theological student's library. 15 cts.

Hall's Method of Teaching History. "Its excellence and helpfulness ought to secure it many readers."—*The Nation.* $1.50.

Boutwell's The Constitution of the United States at the End of the First Century. Presents the constitution as it has been interpreted by decisions of the United States Supreme Court, with an historical chapter. 430 pages. Buckram, $2.50; Full law sheep, $3.50.

Wenzel's Comparative View of Governments. Gives in parallel columns comparisons of the governments of the United States, England, France, and Germany. 26 pages. Paper. 22 cts.

Wilson's The State. Elements of Historical and Practical Politics. A book on the organization and functions of government for schools and colleges. 720 pages. $2.00.

D. C. HEATH & CO., PUBLISHERS.

BOSTON. NEW YORK. CHICAGO



A SHORT HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

By WALTER C. BRONSON, A.M.,
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH IN BROWN UNIVERSITY

This book is at once scholarly and attractive, adapted to the work of the class room, yet literary in spirit and execution.

The literature of each period has been presented in its relation to the larger life of the nation, and to the literatures of England and Europe, for only so can American literature be completely understood and its significance fully perceived.

The writers are treated with admirable critical judgment. The greater writers stand out strong and clean cut personalities. The minor are given brief, but clear, treatment.

While the book lays its chief emphasis upon matters distinctly literary, it contains exact details about the life and writings of the greater authors, and is abundantly equipped with apparatus for reference and study.

The Appendix contains nearly forty pages of extracts from the best but less accessible colonial writers, and valuable notes concerning our early newspapers and magazines, a bibliography of Colonial and Revolutionary literature, and an index.

No other manual of American literature says so much so well in so little space.—WALTER H. PAGE, editor of *The World's Work*, recently editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*.

Cloth. 474 pages. Price, 80 cents.

D. C. HEATH & CO., Publishers
BOSTON NEW YORK CHICAGO



Higher English.

Bray's History of English Critical Terms. A vocabulary of 1400 critical terms used in literature and art, with critical and historical data for their study Cloth. 351 pages. $1.00.

Cook's Judith. With introduction, translation and glossary. Cloth. 170 pages $1.00. *Student's Edition*, without translation. Paper. 104 pages. 30 cents.

Hall's Beowulf. A metrical translation of this ancient epic. Octavo. 118 pages. Cloth, 75 cents. Paper, 30 cents.

Kluge and Lutz's English Etymology. A select glossary for use in the study of historical grammar. Cloth. 242 pages. 60 cents.

MacEwan's The Essentials of Argumentation. A systematic discussion of principles, with illustrative extracts; full analysis of several masterpieces, and a list of propositions for debate. Cloth. 430 pages. $1.12.

Meiklejohn's The English Language. Part I—English Grammar; Part II—Composition and Versification; Part III—History of the English Language; Part IV—History of English Literature. Cloth. 396 pages. $1.20.

Meiklejohn's English Grammar. Contains Part I and II of Meiklejohn's The English Language, with exercises. Cloth. 276 pages. 80 cents.

O'Conor's Rhetoric and Oratory. A manual of precepts and principles, with masterpieces for analysis and study. Cloth. 352 pages. $1.12.

Pearson's The Principles of Composition. Begins with the composition as a whole. Paragraphs, sentences and words are treated later, and in this order. Cloth. 165 pages. 50 cents.

Strang's Exercises in English. Examples in Syntax, Accidence, and Style, for criticism and correction. New edition, revised and enlarged. Cloth. 160 pages. 45 cents.

William's Composition and Rhetoric. Concise, practical, and thorough, with little theory and much practice. Cloth. 344 pages. 90 cents.

Monographs on English.

Bowen's Historical Study of the O-vowel. Cloth. 109 pp. . . .	$1.25
Genung's Study of Rhetoric in the College Course. Paper. 32 pp. . .	.25
Hempl's Chaucer's Pronunciation. Stiff Paper. 39 pp.	.50
Huffcut's English in the Preparatory School. Paper 28 pp. . . .	.25
Woodward's Study of English. Paper. 25 pp.	.25

See also our list of books in Elementary English, English Literature and English Classics.

D. C. HEATH & CO., Publishers, Boston, New York, Chicago



Heath's English Classics.

Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley Papers. Edited by W. H. HUDSON, Professor in the Leland Stanford Junior University. Cloth. 232 pages. Nine full-page illustrations and two maps. 35 cents.

Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America. Edited by A. J. GEORGE, Master in the Newton (Mass.) High School. Cloth. 119 pages. 20 cents.

Carlyle's Essay on Burns. Edited, with introduction and notes, by ANDREW J. GEORGE. Cloth. 159 pages. Illustrated. 25 cents.

Coleridge's Rime of the Ancient Mariner. Edited by ANDREW J. GEORGE. Cloth. 96 pages. Illustrated. 20 cents.

Cooper's Last of the Mohicans. Edited by J. G. WIGHT, Principal Girls' High School, New York City. Cloth. Maps and illustrations. 659 pages. 50 cents.

DeQuincey's Flight of a Tartar Tribe. Edited by G. A. WAUCHOPE, Professor in the University of South Carolina. Cloth. 112 pages. 25 cents.

Dryden's Palamon and Arcite. Edited by WILLIAM H. CRAWSHAW, Professor in Colgate University. Cloth. 158 pages. Illustrated. 25 cents.

George Eliot's Silas Marner. Edited by G. A. WAUCHOPE, Professor in the University of South Carolina. Cloth. 288 pages. Illustrated. 35 cents.

Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield. With introduction and notes by WILLIAM HENRY HUDSON. Cloth. 300 pages. Seventeen full-page illustrations by C. E. Brock. 50 cents.

Macaulay's Essay on Milton. Edited by ALBERT PERRY WALKER, editor of Milton's "Paradise Lost," Master in the English High School, Boston. Cloth. 146 pages. Illustrated. 25 cents.

Macaulay's Essay on Addison. Edited by ALBERT PERRY WALKER. Cloth. 192 pages. Illustrated. 25 cents.

Milton's Paradise Lost. Books I and II. Edited by ALBERT PERRY WALKER. Cloth. 188 pages. Illustrated. 25 cents.

Milton's Minor Poems. Edited by ALBERT PERRY WALKER. Cloth. 190 pages. Illustrated. 25 cents.

Pope's Translation of the Iliad. Books I, VI, XXII, and XXIV. Edited by PAUL SHOREY, Professor in the University of Chicago. Cloth. 174 pages. Illustrated. 25 cents.

Scott's Ivanhoe. Edited by PORTER LANDER MACCLINTOCK, Instructor in the University of Chicago. Cloth. 556 pages. Seventeen full-page illustrations by C. E. Brock. 50 cents.

Shakespeare's Macbeth. Edited by EDMUND K. CHAMBERS. In the *Arden Shakespeare* series. Cloth. 188 pages. 25 cents.

Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice. Edited by H. L. WITHERS. In the *Arden Shakespeare* series. Cloth. 178 pages. 25 cents.

Tennyson's Enoch Arden and the two Locksley Halls. Edited by CALVIN S. BROWN, Professor in the University of Colorado. Cloth. 168 pages. 25 cents.

Tennyson's The Princess. With introduction and notes by ANDREW J. GEORGE, Master in the Newton (Mass.) High School. Cloth. 148 pages. Illustrated. 25 cents.

Webster's First Bunker Hill Oration. With introduction and notes by ANDREW J. GEORGE. Boards. 55 pages. 20 cents.

See also our lists of books in English Literature and Higher English.

D. C. HEATH & CO., Publishers, Boston, New York, Chicago

Heath's Home and School Classics.

Large Type. Good Paper. Many Illustrations. Durable Binding.

Aiken and Barbauld's Eyes and No Eyes, and Other Stories. (M. V. O'Shea.) Paper, 10 cents; cloth, 20 cents.

Ayrton's Child Life in Japan. (W. Elliot Griffis.) Paper, 10 cents; cloth, 20 cents.

Brown's Rab and His Friends and Stories of Our Dogs. (T. M. Balliet.) Paper, 10 cents; cloth, 20 cents.

Browne's The Wonderful Chair and the Tales it Told. (M. V. O'Shea.) Two parts. Paper, each part, 10 cents; cloth, two parts bound in one, 30 cents.

Craik's So Fat and Mew Mew. (Lucy Wheelock.) Paper, 10 cents; cloth, 20 cents.

Crib and Fly: A Tale of Two Terriers. (C. F. Dole.) Paper, 10 cents; cloth, 20 cents.

Defoe's Robinson Crusoe. (Edward Everett Hale.) Four parts. Paper, each part, 15 cents; cloth, four parts in one, 50 cents.

Edgeworth's Waste Not, Want Not, and Other Stories. (M. V. O'Shea.) Paper, 10 cents; cloth, 20 cents.

Ewing's Jackanapes. (W. P. Trent.) Paper, 10 cents; cloth, 20 cents.

Ewing's The Story of a Short Life. (T. M. Balliet.) Paper, 10 cents; cloth, 20 cents.

Goody Two Shoes, attributed to Goldsmith. (C. Welsh.) Paper, 10 cents; cloth, 20 cents.

Gulliver's Travels. I. A Voyage to Lilliput. II. A Voyage to Brobdingnag. (T. M. Balliet.) Paper, each part, 15 cents; cloth, two parts bound in one, 30 cents.

Hamerton's Chapters on Animals: Dogs, Cats and Horses. (W. P. Trent.) Paper, 15 cents; cloth, 25 cents.

Ingelow's Three Fairy Stories. (C. F. Dole.) Paper, 10 cents; cloth, 20 cents.

Irving's Dolph Heyliger. (G. H. Browne.) Paper, 15 cents; cloth, 25 cents.

Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare. (E. S. Phelps Ward.) Three parts. Paper, each part, 15 cents; cloth, three parts bound in one, 40 cents.

Lamb's The Adventures of Ulysses. (W. P. Trent.) Paper, 15 cents; cloth, 25 cents.

Martineau's The Crofton Boys. (W. Elliot Griffis.) Two parts. Paper, each part, 10 cents; cloth, two parts bound in one, 30 cents.

Mother Goose. (C. Welsh.) In two parts. Paper, each part, 10 cents; cloth, two parts bound in one, 30 cents.

Motley's The Siege of Leyden. (W. Elliot Griffis.) Paper, 10 cents; cloth, 20 cents.

Muloch's The Little Lame Prince. (E. S. Phelps Ward.) Two parts. Paper, each part, 10 cents; cloth, two parts bound in one, 30 cents.

Ruskin's The King of the Golden River. (M. V. O'Shea.) Paper, 10 cents; cloth, 20 cents.

Segur's The Story of a Donkey. (C. F. Dole.) Paper, 10 cents; cloth, 20 cents.

Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors. (Sarah W. Hiestand.) Paper, 15 cents; cloth, 25 cents.

Shakespeare's The Tempest. (Sarah W. Hiestand.) Paper, 15 cents; cloth, 25 cents.

Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale. (Sarah W. Hiestand.) Paper, 15 cents; cloth, 25 cents.

Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream. (Sarah W. Hiestand.) Paper, 15 cents; cloth, 25 cents.

Six Nursery Classics. (M. V. O'Shea.) Paper, 10 cents; cloth, 20 cents.

Tales from the Travels of Baron Munchausen. (Edward Everett Hale.) Paper, 10 cents; cloth, 20 cents.

Thackeray's The Rose and the Ring. (Edward Everett Hale.) Paper, 15 cents; cloth, 25 cents.

Trimmer's The History of the Robins. (Edward Everett Hale.) Paper, 10 cents; cloth, 20 cents.

See also our list of books for Supplementary Reading.

D. C. HEATH & CO., Publishers, Boston, New York, Chicago

Drawing and Manual Training.

Thompson's New Short Course in Drawing. A practical, well-balanced system, based on correct principles. Can be taught by the ordinary teacher and learned by the ordinary pupil. Books I–IV, 6 x 9 inches, per dozen, $1.20. Books V–VIII, 9 x 12 inches, per dozen, $1.75. Manual to Books I–IV, 40 cts. Manual to Books V–VIII, 40 cts. Two-Book Course: Book A, per dozen, $1.20; Book B, per dozen, $1.75; Manual, 40 cts.

Thompson's Æsthetic Series of Drawing. This series includes the study of Historical Ornament and Decorative Design. Book I treats of Egyptian art; Book II, Greek; Book III, Roman; Book IV, Byzantine; Book V, Moorish; Book VI, Gothic. Per dozen, $1.50. Manual, 60 cents.

Thompson's Educational and Industrial Drawing.

Primary Free-Hand Series (Nos. 1-4). Each No., per doz., $1.00. Manual, 40 cts.
Advanced Free-Hand Series (Nos. 5-8.) Each No., per doz., $1.50.
Model and Object Series (Nos. 1-3). Each No., per doz., $1.75. Manual, 35 cts.
Mechanical Series (Nos. 1-6). Each No., per doz., $2.00. Manual, 75 cts.

Thompson's Manual Training No. 1. Clay modeling, stick laying, paper folding, color and construction of geometrical solids. Illus. 66 pp. 25 cts.

Thompson's Manual Training No. 2. Mechanical drawing, clay modelling, color, wood carving. Illus. 70 pp. 25 cts.

Thompson's Drawing Tablets. Four Tablets, with drawing exercises and practice paper, for use in the earlier grades. Each No., per doz., $1.20.

Drawing Models. Individual sets and class sets of models are made to accompany several of the different series in the Thompson Drawing Courses. Descriptive circulars free on request.

Anthony's Mechanical Drawing. 98 pages of text, and 32 folding plates. $1.50.

Anthony's Machine Drawing. 65 pages of text, and 18 folding plates. $1.50.

Anthony's Essentials of Gearing. 84 pages of text, and 15 folding plates, $1.50.

Daniels's Freehand Lettering. 34 pages of text, and 13 folding plates. 75 cts.

Johnson's Lessons in Needlework. Gives, with illustrations, full directions for work during six grades. 117 pages. Square 8vo. Cloth, $1.00. Boards, 60 cts.

Lunt's Brushwork for Kindergarten and Primary Schools. Eighteen lesson cards in colors, with teacher's pamphlet, in envelope. 25 cts.

Seidel's Industrial Instruction (Smith). A refutation of all objections raised against industrial instruction. 170 pages. 90 cents.

Waldo's Descriptive Geometry. A large number of problems systematically arranged, with suggestions. 85 pages. 80 cents.

Whitaker's How to use Woodworking Tools. Lessons in the uses of the hammer, knife, plane, rule, square, gauge, chisel, saw and auger. 104 pages. 60 cents.

Woodward's Manual Training School. Its aims, methods and results; with detailed courses of instruction in shop-work. Illustrated. 374 pages. Octavo. $2.00.

Sent postpaid by mail on receipt of price.

D.C. HEATH & CO., Publishers, Boston, New York, Chicago

Science.

Ballard's World of Matter. A guide to mineralogy and chemistry. $1.00.

Benton's Guide to General Chemistry. A manual for the laboratory. 35 cents.

Boyer's Laboratory Manual in Biology. An elementary guide to the laboratory study of animals and plants. 80 cents.

Boynton, Morse and Watson's Laboratory Manual in Chemistry. 50 cents.

Chute's Physical Laboratory Manual. A well-balanced course in laboratory physics, requiring inexpensive apparatus. Illustrated. 80 cents.

Chute's Practical Physics. For high schools and colleges. $1.12.

Clark's Methods in Microscopy. Detailed descriptions of successful methods. $1.60.

Coit's Chemical Arithmetic. With a short system of analysis. 50 cents.

Colton's Physiology: Experimental and Descriptive. For high schools and colleges. Illustrated. $1.12.

Colton's Physiology: Briefer Course. For earlier years in high schools. Illustrated. 90 cents.

Colton's Practical Zoology. Gives careful study to typical animals. 60 cents.

Grabfield and Burns's Chemical Problems. For review and drill. Paper. 25 cents.

Hyatt's Insecta. A practical manual for students and teachers. Illustrated. $1.25.

Newell's Experimental Chemistry. A modern text-book in chemistry for high schools and colleges. $1.10.

Orndorff's Laboratory Manual. Contains directions for a course of experiments in Organic Chemistry, arranged to accompany Remsen's Chemistry. Boards. 35 cents.

Pepoon, Mitchell and Maxwell's Plant Life. A laboratory guide. 50 cents.

Remsen's Organic Chemistry. An introduction to the study of the compounds of carbon. For students of the pure science, or its application to arts. $1.20.

Roberts's Stereo-Chemistry. Its development and present aspects. 1.00.

Sanford's Experimental Psychology. Part I. Sensation and Perception. $1.50.

Shaler's First Book in Geology. Cloth, 60 cents. Boards, 45 cents.

Shepard's Inorganic Chemistry. Descriptive and qualitative; experimental and inductive; leads the student to observe and think. For high schools and colleges. $1.12.

Shepard's Briefer Course in Chemistry, with chapter on Organic Chemistry. For schools giving a half year or less to the subject, and schools limited in laboratory facilities. 80 cents.

Shepard's Laboratory Note-Book. Blanks for experiments; tables for the reactions of metallic salts. Can be used with any chemistry. Boards. 35 cents.

Spalding's Botany. Practical exercises in the study of plants. 80 cents.

Stevens's Chemistry Note-Book. Laboratory sheets and covers. 50 cents.

Venable's Short History of Chemistry. For students and the general reader. $1.00.

Walter, Whitney and Lucas's Animal Life. A laboratory guide. 50 cents.

Whiting's Physical Measurement. I. Density, Heat, Light, and Sound. II. Dynamics, Magnetism, Electricity. III. Principles and Methods of Physical Measurement, Physical Laws and Principles, and Tables. Parts I–IV, in one volume, $3.75.

Whiting's Mathematical and Physical Tables. Paper. 50 cents.

Williams's Modern Petrography. Paper. 25 cents.

For elementary works see our list of books in Elementary Science.

D.C. HEATH & CO., Publishers, Boston, New York, Chicago

Heath's Pedagogical Library

I. **Compayré's History of Pedagogy.** "The best and most comprehensive history of Education in English." — Dr. G. S. HALL $1.75.

II. **Compayré's Lectures on Teaching.** "The best book in existence on theory and practice." — Pres. MACALISTER, Drexel Institute. $1.75.

III. **Compayré's Psychology Applied to Education.** 90 cts.

IV. **Rousseau's Emile.** "Perhaps the most influential book ever written on the subject of education." — R. H. QUICK. 90 cts.; paper, 25 cts.

V. **Peabody's Lectures to Kindergartners.** Illustrated. $1.00.

VI. **Pestalozzi's Leonard and Gertrude.** Illustrated. 90 cts.; paper, 25 cts.

VII. **Radestock's Habit in Education.** 75 cts.

VIII. **Rosmini's Method in Education.** "The most important pedagogical work ever written." — THOMAS DAVIDSON. $1.50.

IX. **Hall's Bibliography of Education.** Covers every department. $1.50.

X. **Gill's Systems of Education.** $1.25.

XI. **De Garmo's Essentials of Method.** A practical exposition of methods with illustrative outlines of common school studies. 65 cts.

XII. **Malleson's Early Training of Children.** 75 cts.; paper, 25 cts.

XIII. **Hall's Methods of Teaching History.** A collection of papers by leading educators. $1.50.

XIV. **Newsholme's School Hygiene.** 75 cts.; paper, 25 cts.

XV. **De Garmo's Lindner's Psychology.** The best manual ever prepared from the Herbartian standpoint. $1.00.

XVI. **Lange's Apperception.** The most popular monograph on psychology and pedagogy that has as yet appeared. $1.00.

XVII. **Methods of Teaching Modern Languages.** 90 cts.

XVIII. **Felkin's Herbart's Introduction to the Science and Practice of Education.** With an introduction by Oscar Browning. $1.00.

XIX. **Herbart's Science of Education.** Includes a translation of the *Allgemeine Pädagogik*. $1.00.

XX. **Herford's Student's Froebel.** 75 cts.

XXI. **Sanford's Laboratory Course in Physiological Psychology.** 90 cts.

XXII. **Tracy's Psychology of Childhood.** The first treatise covering in a scientific manner the whole field of child psychology. 90 cts.

XXIII. **Ufer's Introduction to the Pedagogy of Herbart.** 90 cts.

XXIV. **Munroe's Educational Ideal.** A brief history of education. $1.00.

XXV. **Lukens's The Connection between Thought and Memory.** Based on Dörpfeld's *Denken und Gedächtnis*. $1.00.

XXVI. **English in American Universities.** Papers by professors in twenty representative institutions. $1.00.

XXVII. **Comenius's The School of Infancy.** $1.00.

XXVIII. **Russell's Child Observations.** First Series: Imitation and Allied Activities. $1.50.

XXIX. **Lefevre's Number and its Algebra.** $1.25.

XXX. **Sheldon-Barnes's Studies in Historical Method.** Method as determined by the nature of history and the aim of its study. 90 cts.

XXXI. **Adams's The Herbartian Psychology Applied to Education.** A series of essays in touch with present needs. $1.00.

XXXII. **Roger Ascham's The Scholemaster.** $1.25.

XXXIII. **Thompson's Day Dreams of a Schoolmaster.** $1.25.

Richter's Levana; or, The Doctrine of Education. "A spirited and scholarly book." — Prof. W. H. PAYNE. $1.40.

Sent by mail, postpaid, on receipt of price.

D.C. HEATH & CO., Publishers, Boston, New York, Chicago





LANE MEDICAL LIBRARY

To avoid fine, this book should be returned on or before the date last stamped below.

LANE MEDICAL LIBRARY OF
STANFORD UNIVERSITY
300 PASTEUR
PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA

L626 Henderson, C.R. 13589
H49 The dependent, defec-
1901 tive, and delinquent
classes

E Hansen (Hall)

DATE DUE

JUN 0 1952